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# EVOLUTION OF AWADHI

( A BRANCH OF HINDI )

BY

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To  
Professor R. L. Turner  
with  
gratitude, affection and devotion  
from  
his first pupil  
of  
Indian Linguistics

188  
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## PREFACE

This work is based upon a Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Letters of the University of Allahabad in 1931 and approved by a Board of Examiners comprising of Sir George A. Grierson, Professors R. L. Turner, Jules Bloch, S. K. Chatterji and Dr. A. C. Woolner. It was hoped that the University of Allahabad would publish it but owing to financial stringency the then Vice-Chancellor, in spite of his wishes, could not find funds for it. In the circumstances it was kind of The Indian Press, Ltd., to agree to print and publish it.

The main additions to the thesis are (a) the origin of sounds in Part I, (b) the appendices giving unpublished texts of Early and Modern Awadhi, (c) the index of words, and (d) the map. I hope these will prove useful.

The transliteration alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has been adopted for transcribing such modern languages as I know intimately and that of the Royal Asiatic Society for the rest. The current abbreviations found in works of Linguistics have been used in this book also.

It remains for me now to acknowledge my gratitude to those who helped me in the preparation of this work. My revered *guru* Professor R. L. Turner planned this work for me in 1921 at Benares and supervised its completion. I received my first and last lessons in Linguistics at his feet and all that I know of the subject is entirely due to him. I am also deeply beholden to the Professor for his kind permission to dedicate this work to him. Professor S. K. Chatterji did me the favour of looking through the manuscript before it went to the press ;

Roshni  
Benares 18/11/31-31-3-51

and he made many useful suggestions. Professor Jules Bloch wrote the encouraging Foreword. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganantha Jha and Professor P.K. Acharya gave all facilities and encouragement. Dr. Dharendra Varma kindly saw most of the proofs with me and several improvements in the arrangement of matter are due to his suggestions. Professor Amaranatha Jha looked into the proof of the Foreword and Mr. Bhagwat Dayal corrected the first proof of the Introduction. Mr. Lalita Prasad Sukul collected three specimens of Modern Awadhi and Mr. Siddhanath Choubé helped me in the preparation of the statistics of the frequency of pronouns. Mr. Mata Prasad Gupta translated two texts and Mr. Udai Narain Tewari prepared the index. Mr. Shiva Prasad Singh prepared the sketch of the map. To all these kind friends my best thanks are due.

While in London in 1929-30, I received instruction and advice from Professors Daniel Jones and E. W. Scripture and from Mr. A. Lloyd James, Mr. Stephen Jones, Mr. N. B. Jopson and Dr. H. W. Bailey. I am grateful to all these teachers.

This work has been my companion for the last seventeen years ; I am not unaware of its deficiencies. However, I dare submit it to the world of linguists only in the hope that it will receive their kindness and indulgence.

*tivās te panthānāḥ santu*

*December 1st, 1937.*

B. R. SAKSENA

## FOREWORD

It is gratifying to see Linguistic science settle down and prosper once more in India, its birth-place. It is a well-known fact that grammar, which had been cultivated in Europe with a view to fixing the best usage in each language, did not become a science, capable of universal acceptance and application, until India revealed Sanskrit to the world. Not that Sanskrit was in itself a sufficient revelation: Bopp, it is true, traced all the consequences of the relationship, more than once recognised by others before him, between Sanskrit and the Indo-European languages of Europe, and thus constituted the new science of Comparative Grammar. Earlier Rask had already established the relationship between the Germanic languages and Greek, Latin, Lettic and Slavonic.

All the same, it was the revelation of Sanskrit that permitted the immense and rapid progress of historical Linguistics. But in spite of the numerous instructive archaisms of Sanskrit and clear gradation of sounds and the mechanism of forms in that language, how much less benefit should we have derived from this discovery had we not had the wonderful analysis of these facts by the Sanskrit Grammarians themselves, an analysis a knowledge of which was to lay the foundation not only of comparative and historical grammar, but of a science of general and universal validity? See a powerful mind like Volney's when in 1795 it tackles the problem of the "Simplification of Oriental languages" in a treatise (in recognition of which he was elected an honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). He took up the subject again in his book on 'the European alphabet applied to Asiatic languages.' There we witness his painful efforts

to lay the foundation of Phonetics. He discovers that a vowel, as distinguished from a mere glottal sound, is articulated "in and by means of the cavities of the mouth and nose" and that a consonant is "the contact of two or several parts of the mouth, made perceptible to the ear by the muffled sound of its breaking away." What would he have said, if he had been told that two thousand years before his time these problems had already been solved and thoroughly investigated, that for instance, consonants were actually called contacts—*sparsā*? Without calling to mind all the subtleties of the *Prātiśākhya*s, all we need remember is the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, where the sounds are placed according to the degree of aperture and the place and mode of articulation, in order to realize that Indian science supplied the one necessary basis for the constitution of that phonetic science that Volney dreamed of, though with still purely practical purposes. In any case it already provided us with the model of a precise classification, enabling European linguists to understand much better the evolution of languages, which was the object of their first researches.

This is not the place for a survey of this research work, but we can sketch the way in which Europe, after having received Sanskrit grammar as a wonderful present from India, gave her back historical Linguistics in exchange. The first application of the method to Indian languages was the "Essay on Pali" by Burnouf and Lassen (1826) in which the latter specified the circumstances of the transition from Sanskrit to Middle Indian. Strangely enough, a roundabout way had to be taken before we arrived at modern Aryan. According to the testimony of Beames himself, it was the initiative of Bishop Caldwell in connection with Dravidian languages (1836) that suggested to his mind the idea of turning to account his perfect fluency in four different languages and his fair knowledge of three others, to draw up a general survey of them. The study of the Indian branch

of Indo-European languages far-outdistanced as it was, thanks to Grimm, by the researches in the Germanic family, was not then very much behind the study of Keltic, Slavonic and Latin.

Just as with Europe, it was then a general survey that opened the way, the study of particular languages came only afterwards. In this respect Dravidian lost the lead, as Kittel's grammar of Canara was published only in the 20th century. In the Aryan domain, thanks once more to the help of native grammarians, progress was not slow. As early as 1872 Trumpp's Sindhi was published, a descriptive grammar with comparative illustrations; in 1880 Hoernle gave in one book the thorough description of a modern dialect together with its comparative grammar. The method had now taken root in India and was yielding good fruit when applied by Europeans.

But what the Europeans were able to do by adding to their reading knowledge the first-hand practice of native languages, would not the Indians themselves do the same by grafting on their intimate experience of local usage the newly revised method of which the Europeans showed them the use?

The Great Bhandarkar in his fine Wilson Lectures (1877) even before the publication of Beames' volume concerning the Verb, was the first to endeavour to show the development of Indo-Aryan from Vedic down to the present-day languages.

After him perhaps for some time, at any rate, it was not so useful to treat this subject again \* as to get a deeper insight into the principal languages. From this point of view the most important Indian contribution is Professor

---

\* Mention should be made here of Professor Bloch's own brilliant work, *l'Indo-Aryen* (Paris, 1934), a landmark in the field of Indian Linguistics. Obviously the Professor's modesty has prevented him from making a reference to it.



Chatterji's "Origin and Development of Bengali Language," a book too well-known for me to characterize it and give it here the praise it deserves.

Here is now Dr. Saksena's contribution. The language he describes is not so illustrious as Bengali or Marathi. Awadhi is but one of the Eastern Hindi dialects; but let not our ignorance blind us to its importance. If we annex Bagheli to it, as Linguistic science bids us to do, Awadhi is the language of a people numbering more than twenty millions and a half. This number is a little less than that of those who use Polish, but definitely more than European Spanish or Dutch; in India it is almost as large as Telugu can boast of, and more than Marathi or Tamil; still all these languages are among the twenty most extensive in the world according to Prof. Tesnière's calculations. Moreover Awadhi glories in a fine literature, though not in the present generation, as Dr. Saksena explains in this treatise. As is well-known the renowned *Rāma-charitamānasa* of Tulsī Dās was written in an old form of this language. It may be added that this work bears a date, which is extremely important to the philologist; and that some manuscripts are almost contemporary with the work. An earlier record still is the *Padmāwat* of Muhammad Jāisī, a text which besides its being dated, has the advantage of avoiding Sanskritisms; neither does it excessively Islamise its diction. A language that possesses such masterpieces and that is able to resist victoriously the encroachments of Hindustani in current usage was well worth studying for its own sake.

But it prescribed to the historian a special difficulty which was to prevent him—fortunately to my mind—from following the plan already used by other scholars for Marathi or Bengali.

The documents in Awadhi are not of the same kind in different periods: we have just seen that there is no written Awadhi today. Now, the description of a spoken

language entails special problems and imposes duties of its own.

First of all, the scrupulous precise phonetic notation, which is not quite so necessary when the spelling gives useful hints as regards its previous stages, now becomes indispensable if only to avoid an unconscious imitation of neighbouring literary languages. But this phonetic accuracy demands special training; here again Europe gave the clue, the teachings of grammar having been elucidated there by the results of physiology and acoustics. Here the analysis of sounds was carried out with a precision far superior to the powers of hearing, thanks to the artificial palate, which Oakley Coates had borrowed from the dentists (1871) and to the sound-registering instruments borrowed by Rosapelly (1876) from the physiologists who had more or less adopted them from the 18th-century meteorologists.

To master these methods, Dr. Saksena undertook a visit to Europe and devoted himself to a course of tedious laboratory work. The results of this can be seen in the photographs illustrating this book. This is the first time that the historical treatment of an Indian language has been supported by a description carried out according to the graphic method. It is desirable that particularly in this point Dr. Saksena should find followers, and that the Universities in India might offer facilities to their members for a voyage to Europe to enable them to work on these lines.

The description, specially the graphic description, of an unwritten living language, cannot be made in a general way, the whole study must be based on a particular speech, if not on an individual speaker. Dr. Saksena started from his own dialect, which was the right thing to do. His former study of Lakhimpuri, which he had done under Professor Turner's guidance was already conspicuous by qualities of order and precision and contained important remarks. Later on, thanks to the consent of the Allahabad University, to

whom we should all be grateful for this, he was able to explore the other dialects and prepare the still unpublished monographs which served as a basis for the present work. He thus prepared himself for the use of the geographical method, which is one of the most recent achievements of European Linguistics.

The main originality of Dr. Saksena's work lies in the accurate and complete description of both the ancient and modern stages of Awadhi. The historical explanations have been assigned a subordinate position, and rightly so, as the connection of Awadhi with Indo-Aryan in general renders useless the repetition of theories which have already been propounded in the well-known and authoritative works on the subject. In a few places Dr. Saksena has left a few facts unexplained which, in the present stage of our knowledge, are impossible to be tackled. Dr. Saksena has, in such cases, shown the facts and stated the problems connected with them in a clear light. This in itself constitutes great progress.

Dr. Saksena, in the following pages, gives evidence of a close, varied and comprehensive study of his own language and of promise of studies on parallel lines. It is with great pleasure that I underline the merits and novelty of the great work which Dr. Saksena has produced.

JULIUS BLOCH

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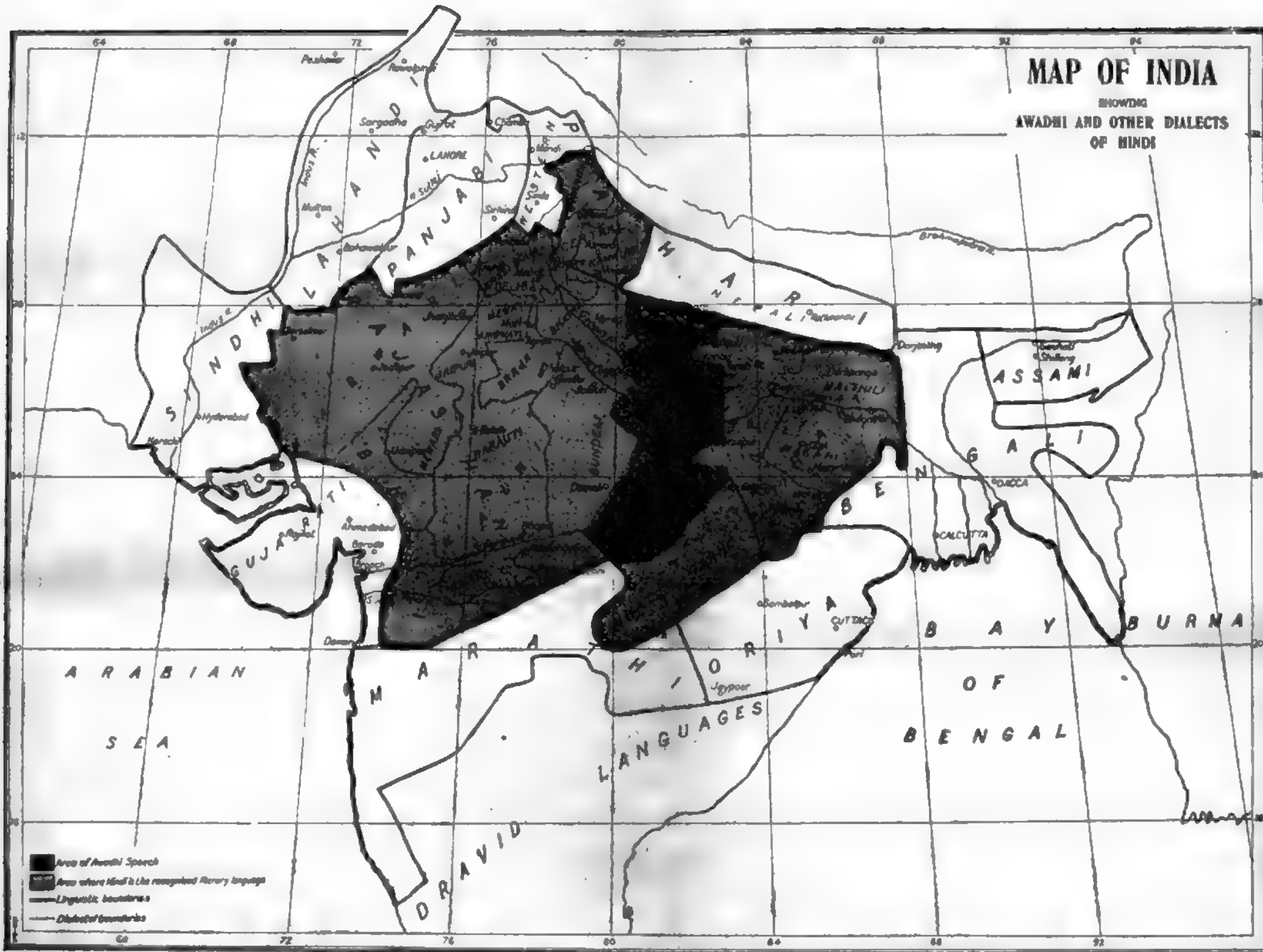
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# MAP OF INDIA

SHOWING  
AWADHI AND OTHER DIALECTS  
OF HINDI





## INTRODUCTION





## INTRODUCTION

### Name of the Language.

§ 1. Awadhī is the main dialect of the Eastern Hindi branch of the Indo-Aryan group of languages spoken in Northern India. The term Awadhī appears to denote the language of Awadh (Oudh), but, as a matter of fact, the language is not confined to the province of Oudh. It is not spoken in parts of the province (Hardoi district and parts of Kheri and Fyzabad), while it extends to the districts of Fatehpur, Allahabad, Jaunpur and Mirzapur of the Agra province. But as it is chiefly spoken in Oudh, the name may be accepted, at least in preference to the other two names, *Pūrbi* (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II, p. 43 and Vol. VI, p. 10) and *Kōsali* (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 9) which have sometimes been employed for it. *Pūrbi* literally means *eastern*, and is sometimes used for Awadhī and at others for Bhōjpurī. It may very well be a suitable name for Eastern Hindi to distinguish it from Western Hindi. *Kōsali* may be the name of the language of the Kōsala Kingdom which no longer exists and the boundaries of which cannot be fixed with certainty. Another name employed sometimes to denote this language is *Baiswārī* (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 9), but it is generally and more appropriately used for a restricted area of Awadhī, that of *Baiswārā*—comprising portions of the Unao, Lucknow, Rae Bareilly and Fatehpur districts. *Baiswārā* is notorious for its harshness and so is the language of the area. Inquiries made by me from cultured residents of the area bear out this statement. The main difference from other dialects of Awadhī is phonetic—in the pronunciation of *e* as *ja*, *o* as *wa*, and *ox* as *jax* and *or* as *wax*.

The name of Awadh (Oudh) is connected with *Ayōdhyā*, the ancient town, which remained a town of considerable importance during the Mohammedan period as well. Tulsīdās uses the word *Avadha* for *Ayōdhyā* and so does Lāldās Gupta who spells it as *Audha* also.

### Linguistic Boundaries of Awadhī.

§ 2. On the West of Awadhī there are two dialects of Western Hindi, viz., Kanaujī and Bundelī, while on its East there is the Bihārī dialect Bhōjpurī. Compared with Awadhī, the distinguishing features of Kanaujī and Bundelī (see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 83, 85, 92) are : (1) the agentive postposition *noṛ* (Awadhī does not have this), and (2) the noun, adjective and past participle (masc. sing.) in *-oṛ*, *Au*, Awadhī *oṛ*. The distinguishing features of Bhōjpurī (see *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 43 and 53) are : (1) the present tense with the enclitic *lax* (e.g., *paxir lax*), (2) the past tense in *-l*, and (3) the dative postposition *lax*. With these distinctive features of its neighbours, we should fix the exact linguistic boundaries of Awadhī chiefly and of Eastern Hindi generally.

On the West, the *-oṛ* forms appear from Gōlā Gōkaran Nāth (Kheri district). If we draw a straight line from Gōlā to Nērl (Sitāpur district), it will correctly divide Kanaujī from Awadhī. From Nērl, the river Gomati forms the south-western boundary of Awadhī right up to the point where it divides the Hardōī district from Lucknow. From there a line may be drawn to the south-west roughly along the boundary line of the districts of Hardōī and Lucknow, and Unao up to the point where the district of Unao ends. From here, the district of Cawnpore belongs to Western Hindi and the districts of Unao, Fatehpur and Allahabad belong to Awadhī.

Of the Tīrbhārī specimens given in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. VI, pp. 132—156), some, we can say,

go under Bundeli while others under Awadhi. For instance, the Banda specimen on page 133 combines **nez** (agentive post-position of Bundeli) with an Awadhi verb **difiis** (**magai nez bārti difiis**). The Fatehpur specimen of Tirhārī (p. 138) is, however, pure Awadhi. The Hamirpur specimen (p. 140) has better reason to be with Bundeli than the Banda specimen, because it has both the characteristics of Western Hindi. A few instances of Awadhi verbs are found in this specimen also. The Gahōrā specimen (p. 150) appears as pure Awadhi, while the Jujār and Banāpharī specimens are the mixtures of Bundeli and Awadhi (Bāghēli).

*Awadhi and Bāghēli.*—Linguistically, Bāghēli does not differ from Awadhi. In the *Linguistic Survey* 'Its separate existence has only been recognised in deference to popular prejudice' (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 1). The two characteristic points of difference mentioned in the *Survey* (VI, p. 20), viz., 'the enclitic **tez** or **tai**' and the **fi** form of the 1st person future' are found in other dialects of Awadhi as well. The enclitic **tez** or **tai** is nothing but the contracted form of the auxiliary **hataz**, **hatai**, **hatiz** found after the participles. Similar contraction is found not only in other dialects of Awadhi and in Chattisgarhi but in Western Hindi as well. The **-fi** form of the 1st person future is similarly found in other dialects of Awadhi, e.g., in Lakhimpur, Sitāpur, Lucknow and Bārābankī. Other minor characteristics (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 122) similarly are found in other dialects of Awadhi, e.g., the 'tendency to change **a** to **b** as in **abaz**, 'a noise' **jabarb** 'an answer'. There are two points, however, (1) adjectives in a strong form in **fiar**, as in **nikesfiar** 'good' and (2) the honorific imperative in **-iz**, e.g., **dexiz**, 'be good enough to give,' which are not generally found in other dialects of Awadhi. The strong adjective in **-fiar** has correspondences sometimes still, e.g., Lmp. **puranifiar** 'old, experienced' and the honorific,

imperative form is a borrowing from the neighbouring dialect of Biḥarī—Bhōjpurī.

From these facts, it appears best to take Bāghēli only as a dialect of Awadhī and not as a form of Eastern Hindi standing on a par with Awadhī. Gōḍwānī or Maṇḍlāhī (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VI, p. 158) has more connection with Awadhī than with Bāghēli, as we do not find the main characteristic of Bāghēli (tai enclitic) in it. To the East of Gōḍwānī lies Chhattisgarhī, and to the West Bundēli. Therefore, as expected, we find in it a fusion of both these dialects.

On the south, Awadhī is bounded by Chhattisgarhī, another form of Eastern Hindi. This has several characteristics which differentiate it from Awadhī. The definitive enclitic *-har* is used after nouns and pronouns, the plural is made by adding *-man*, the accusative-dative postposition is *lar* (side by side with *kax*) and the instrumental postposition is *lex* (which is commoner than *sex*), the genitive postposition *kex* does not change for number or gender, the enclitic for restrictive emphatic form is *-ca* (Awadhī *-i*). The pronouns also are different and have something in common with Bhōjpurī. In other points Chhattisgarhī agrees closely with Awadhī (for details see '*A Grammar of the Chhattisgarhī Dialect of Hindi*' by Hiralal and Grierson published by the C. P. Government—and *Vikāsa*, the official monthly organ of the District Council, Bilāspur, C.P., which occasionally contains articles in the dialect).

On the north, the Awadhī area is bounded by the territory of the Nepal Government. Most of this consists of uninhabited tracts, forests and barren land. Here and there one finds a small village occupied by some aboriginal tribe, e.g., the Thārūs. There are certain market places (*maṇḍīs*) which are occupied by the people from Pilibhit, Kheri, Bahraich and Gonda during the winter season and they carry on a profitable trade with the Nēpālī hillmen who come

down to sell their hill-products, woollen blankets, turmeric, etc., and to purchase the products of the plains, tobacco, ornaments, etc. These markets close down by May and from then up to the beginning of December they are deserted. Thus the Awadhī language does not come in close contact with Nepālī.

On the east, Awadhī is bounded by Bhōjpurī. The boundary of the district of Gonda corresponds with the Eastern boundary of the language itself. Then we move towards the East along the river (thāghrā right up to Tāndā. A straight line from Tāndā to Jaunpur and thence to Mirzapur will correctly represent the south-eastern boundary of Awadhī. Pure Awadhī is spoken right up to a few miles to the west of Mirzapur town. From there the boundary of the Allahabad district on the south-east and the boundary-line of the Rewa territory to the east, form the eastern limits of Awadhī. Only in the south-eastern triangle of Mirzapur district (the Sōn-pār tract, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, pp. 130-31), is Awadhī spoken more or less mixed up with Bhōjpurī. Further south to Sōnpārī one finds Awadhī bounded by the Surgujīā dialect of Chhattīsgarhī.

### Characteristics of Awadhī.

§ 3. Thus Awadhī stands between Western Hindi and Bihārī. Of the three varieties of the forms of the noun-stem—short, long and longer, Western Hindi has generally the short form, Awadhī both the short and the long while Bihārī has the longer and the long generally. Of the observance of the gender of nouns and adjectives, we find Western Hindi rigorous, Awadhī a little loose while Bihārī mostly does not observe the distinction of gender. The direct case (singular) of consonantal bases in Awadhī ends in -*ṭ*, in Western Hindi this -*ṭ* is absent, particularly in Hindustānī. The direct plural of consonantal bases in some dialects of Awadhī has the termination -*āī*. As regards postpositions, Awadhī is

clearly distinguished from Western Hindi by the absence of the agentive postposition in the former. In this respect it agrees with Bihārī. The accusative-dative postposition in Awadhī is **kaṣ**, **ke** while in Western Hindi it is **koṣ**, **kau** and in Bihārī **kez**. The locative postposition in Awadhī is **maṣ** in Western Hindi and Bihārī generally **mez**. The pronouns show considerable distinction. Awadhī personal genitive adjectives are **toṛ**, **moṛ**, Western Hindi **toṛ-**, **moṛ-**; Awadhī oblique of **hamar** is **hamareṣ** and Western Hindi **hamareṛ**. The nominative singular of the relative and interrogative pronouns has the forms **joṣ**, **koṣ** in Awadhī, and **jeṣ**, **keṣ** in Bihārī. Of the verb, the auxiliary in Western Hindi is **h-** (**hai**, etc.) while in Awadhī it is generally **h-** (**hai**), **āḥ-** (**āḥai**), **baṛ-** (**baṛai**) in the present and **baṛ-** (**baṛeṣ**) or **aṛch** (**aṛcheṣ**) in Bihārī. The imperfect participle in Awadhī has lost traces of the ancient case termination (except-**i** in Western Awadhī) while in Hindustānī **-aṣ** (**jartaṣ**) or **-u** (**jartu**) is generally found. This **-u** may be whispered in actual existence like **-i** in Awadhī. The past tense, based on the imperfect participle, adds affixes in Awadhī while it does not do so in Western Hindi. The best Awadhī characteristic is the affix **-is** or **-is**. The future in Awadhī has vestiges of the ancient simple future as well as of the participle in **-tavya**, while in the neighbouring dialects of Western Hindi we find only the former and in Bihārī only the latter.<sup>1</sup>

### Origin of Awadhī.

§ 4. To what Prakrit is Awadhī (or Eastern Hindi) connected in origin? To the west of Awadhī are dialects connected with Śaurasēnī and to the east there are Bihārī dialects whose origin is taken back to Māgadhī. It was natural for Grierson, therefore, to connect Eastern Hindi, with

<sup>1</sup> Only Western Bhojpurī retains some forms derived from the ancient simple future.

Ardhamāgadhi—a language said to lie between Śaurasēni and Māgadhi. But when we come to take up individual characteristics we find difficulties. Śaurasēni was distinguished by treating the Sanskrit *-t* *-th-* as *-d* *-dā-* in opposition to the Mahārāṣṭri (*-y-*) zero- and *-h-* and by the Nominative singular of bases as *-ō* while Māgadhi had *-ē*. The retention of explosion in *d* and *dā* might point to the more archaic character of Śaurasēni as compared with Mahārāṣṭri. Śaurasēni had the dental sibilant (*s*) while Māgadhi had the palatal (*ś*). In Śaurasēni *r* was retained while in Māgadhi it was substituted by *l*. Ardhamāgadhi does not possess the two main characteristics of Māgadhi, viz., *ś* and *l* for Śaurasēni *s* and *r*. In this it agrees with Śaurasēni. But it has both *-ē* and *-ō* forms of the Nominative singular. And the texts of Ardhamāgadhi (chiefly Jain canon) amply bear out the double treatment of the base in the Nominative singular *dēvō* or *dēvē*, *sō* or *sē*, *kē*, *jē*—see *Ardhamāgadhi Reader* by Dr. Banarsi Das Jain.

When we judge Awadhi by the main characteristic of Ardhamāgadhi, we find that the *-ē* treatment of the Nominative singular is traceable only in the imperfect participle in *-j* in some dialects and also possibly in *-ex* perfect participle when used in the singular. Neither the nouns nor the postpositions except *kex* (direct singular genitive found in the eastern dialects of Awadhi) have any trace of *-ē*. On the other hand, the *-y* of the direct singular clearly points to the Śaurasēni *-ō*. The *-j* and *-ex* in the imperfect and the perfect participles respectively, however, are found in the neighbouring dialects of Western Hindi as well.

Eastern Hindi has more affinity with Pāli than with Jain Ardhamāgadhi. But Pāli represents a much earlier stage of language than Jain Ardhamāgadhi. The texts in the latter language were recast and edited in the fifth century A.D. We can assume that earlier Ardhamāgadhi was different from the later language in character and that this earlier Ardhamāgadhi was the basis of Awadhi.



When did the characteristics of the various modern dialects become fixed? The earliest specimens of Braj, Awadhī or Maithilī already bear the characteristics. The Maithilī Apabhraṃśa (*avakṣha*), traces of which are found in the language of the *Kirtilatā* of Vidyāpati, has the characteristics of Maithilī already in several respects. No Apabhraṃśa works corresponding to Eastern Hindi are available [see the article on Apabhraṃśa Literature by Hiralal Jain—*Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 157—185; *Apabhraṃśa kāvyatrayī*—G.O.S. 1927, *Kirtilatā*—Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, Benares, and *Jasaharacarīu, Nāyakumāracarīu, Sāvayadhamma-dōhā* (Karanja, Berar) published since Jain's article which mentions the Apabhraṃśa literature available till then—1925].

In the early Muslim period, portions of the Awadhī area were in the kingdom of Jaunpur. In Akbar's period, the territory was under the Sarkārs of Jaunpur, Allahabad and Oudh. It appears that the Hardoi district was more or less always with Kanauj. The armies regularly used to march from Kanauj to Khairabad in the Sitapur district, which indirectly explains the Kanaujī influences in the southern portions of the Sitapur district.

The characteristics probably belong to the pre-Muslim period, a suggestion put forward by Mr. Dharendra Varma ('Identity of the Present Dialect-areas of Hindustan with the Ancient Janapadas'—*Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 189—201).

The area where the Bāghelī dialect of Awadhī and Chattīgarhī are spoken is merely an extension of Kōsala towards South—the Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. It was particularly known as GONDWĀNĀ in the Muslim period and was inhabited by wild tribes. The colonisation from Oudh extends over a long period, some of the families having migrated from the Rae Bareli and Unao districts only in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

### Importance of Awadhi.

§ 5. According to the *Linguistic Survey* (VI, p. 2) Eastern Hindi is spoken by 24,368,099 people of which 3,755,343 are put down under Chhattisgarhi and the rest 20,612,756, under Awadhi (including Bāghēli).

Awadhi serves an area which has been historically important from ancient times. Here stands Ayōdhyā (also known as Sākēta), the capital of the Kōsala kingdom which was very important up to the Buddhist period. The activities of Buddha were mainly in the Kōsala kingdom and he spent a considerable period of his time in Sāvattthi and the portions round about it. Allahabad is an ancient sacred place and has been politically important during the Gupta, Moghal and British periods. Fyzabad and Lucknow played a very important part during the reign of the later Moghals. The Nawabs of Oudh have been famous for their culture, gaiety and splendour. The Rulers of Rewa have not only been great patrons of learning and art but have themselves been poets and literary men. Tan Sen, the Prince of Indian musicians, was in the court of Mahārāja Ram Chand Singh from where he was taken away by Akbar.

In the literary field Awadhi stands immortalised in the *Rāmacarita-mānasa* of Tulsidās.

Awadhi today is merely the common language of the people, and is not a literary vehicle. The Hindustāni dialect (whether Hindi or Urdu) is the literary language of the Awadhi area. The uneducated people speak Awadhi amongst themselves and so do the educated people if they are talking amongst Awadhi people. I have found that in the district towns, educated people coming from outside the Awadhi area generally adapt themselves to Awadhi forms and very soon become good Awadhi speakers. In the larger towns, however, such as Lucknow, Allahabad, Fyzabad, where there is a

large admixture of educated people from the non-Awadhi area the vehicle of thought amongst educated people is Hindustāni. In the district towns also, as the official work is all in Hindustāni, the educated classes are familiar with both the Hindustāni and Awadhi forms and speak both according to need. At the homes of Awadhi speakers, however, the practice differs with people. In the district towns, girls married to Awadhi people from outside the Awadhi area, adopt Awadhi and discard their dialects within a year or two. But in the larger towns, with the gradual assertion of woman's individuality in the family, a girl normally speaking Hindustāni retains her speech so that her children, when brought up, speak Hindustāni and not Awadhi which is spoken by only a few members of the family. These are the beginnings of the ousting of the unliterary dialect. Individual Awadhi speakers when outside the Awadhi area have adopted the dialect of the place; for instance, girls of Oudh married to the people of the Kanaujī area have discarded Awadhi and adopted Kanaujī. When families shift, however, they retain their dialect longer in their homes, e.g., an Awadhi family settled in the Mēwārī area retains Awadhi at home. But the children owing to the close contact of Mēwārī speakers very soon adopt Mēwārī habits of speech and it is expected that Awadhi will be ousted from the family after a generation or two.

It should be borne in mind that the various dialects of Hindi, Western or Eastern, are mutually intelligible not only with regard to neighbouring dialects but to others also. A speaker of Braj can make himself intelligible in Oudh even to the uneducated people. If he resides in Oudh he will adopt Awadhi but may retain certain characteristics of his original dialect. And this weakness is condoned, though sometimes it does raise a little joke at the expense of the Braj speaker. The strict purity of the dialect is not ordinarily insisted upon.

### Materials for the Study of Awadhi.

§ 6. Awadhi was used as a literary vehicle, side by side with Braj, before they were ousted by Hindustānī in the last century. Braj has still some votaries, but Awadhi has none. It is only occasionally that we find traces of Awadhi in the Hindustānī written by the writers of Oudh. Awadhi forms creep in, particularly in the commentaries written in Hindi (for instance, *Kuṇḍaliyā Rāmāyaṇa Saṁskṛta* by Baijuāth Kurmī of Mānpur, district Bārābankī and published by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1892, or his *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa Saṁskṛta*).

Quite an important literature, though not as extensive as that of Braj, however, exists in Early Awadhi. The *Rāmacarita-mānasa* (popularly known as the *Rāmāyaṇa*) of Tulsīdās, the most important work in any modern Indo-Aryan language, is in Awadhi. It was written in Samvat 1631 (1575 A.D.) and though the plot is mostly a borrowed one, either from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* or from the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* both of which are in Sanskrit, the poetic genius exhibited in the work stands unrivalled in Indian literature. Another important work in Awadhi is the *Padmāvat* of Malik Muhammad Jāyāsī written in Hijrī 947 (1540 A.D.). It is a romantic poem of considerable interest and a philosophical allegory runs throughout. The work is linguistically important as Jāyāsī was a Mohammedan, and to all appearances ignorant of Sanskrit, and he has used a language which is devoid of Sanskrit or Arabo-Persian diction. His Awadhi is purer than that of Tulsīdās, though strict purity of dialect is absent and should not be expected. The speakers (or the scribes, at any rate) of the various dialects, Braj, Kanaujī, Awadhi, etc., were mutually intelligible in those days as to-day and there was no rigidly fixed literary form par excellence. The writers, therefore, imperceptibly borrowed from the neighbouring dialects.

Tulsidās has written in Braj quite as successfully as in Awadhī. Several editions of *Padmāvat* and *Rāmacarita-mānasa* exist. From the linguistic point of view the *Padmāvat* edited by Grierson and Sudhākar Dwivedī is excellent and has been referred to in the following pages. The only other known work of the author *Akharāvaṣa* is also in Awadhī. Of the editions of the *Rāmacarita-mānasa*, the Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā, Benares edition, is the least objectionable and has been utilised for references here. The text of the *Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa* based on the Rājāpur manuscript, said to have been written by the poet himself, edited by Lala Sita Ram, has also been consulted. Of Tulsidās's numerous other works, *Pārvaṣ Maṅgala* and *Jānakī Maṅgala* are in good Awadhī.

The other published work is *Indrāvāṣ* written obviously on the model of *Padmāvat*, by Nūr Muhammad in Hijrī 1157 (1757 A.D.), about two hundred years later than *Padmāvat*. The Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā published about half of the text in 1906. The manuscript was in the Persian character, but only a copy of it in the Kaithī character was available to the Sabhā. The text is, therefore, not very reliable linguistically. The dialect represented is Awadhī of the most eastern area, near about Mirzapur.

Besides the above-mentioned three authors who have been the basis of studies in Early Awadhī and have been extensively drawn upon in the following pages, two important manuscripts described below have been consulted.

(1) *Avadhā-bilāsa*—(described under No. 32 in the Report on the search of Hindi manuscripts for the year 1901) in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (a manuscript of a portion of the book is in Ayōdhyā, see No. 107 of the *Hindi Search Report* for 1914—17). It was begun in Awadhā (Ayōdhyā) by Lāldās Gupta in the bright half of the month of Baisākha, in the Samvat year 1700 (A.D. 1643), i.e., about a hundred years

after Jāyasi's work. The author gave up the work on the fifth day of the bright half of Phālgun, the same year. The work, even as it is, is extensive, extending over 301 leaves (602 pages) with 20 to 23 lines on each page. It deals with the life of Rāma and is like the *Rāmacarita-mānasa* in the *ḍoḥā* and *caupāi* metres.

It is divided into 18 cantos (*bisrāms*). The first, which ends on leaf 18b, contains a recommendation and an appeal to the readers to study the book, the poet's respect to the deities, his humble attitude and the importance of devotion and good company. The second canto gives a detailed account of Ayōdhyā, the origin of the river Sarayū, an account of the music played in the town and ends (on leaf 55b) with the occupation of Ayōdhyā by Svayambhū Manu with Vasiṣṭha as his priest. The third canto which ends on leaf 77b contains the reasons why Viṣṇu came down to the Earth as Rāma and why the two Gaṇas of Śiva were born as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna. The 4th canto (ending on leaf 127b) describes the terrorism of Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarna, Earth's appeal to Viṣṇu and the latter's promise to come down, the story of Rāhu and the quarrel between Śiva and Pārvatī. The 5th describes in detail the charity of Raghu at Sonakhara Tīratha and ends on leaf 139a. The 6th canto named the Entrance of the King (Daśaratha) in Prayāga and his meeting with Lōmapāda ends on leaf 154b. The 7th describes the meeting of the king with Rāyaśrūga (ending on leaf 167b) and the 8th brings the youthful sage down to Ayōdhyā (ending on leaf 199a). The 9th is named *Garbhaprakāśa* (ending on leaf 209b) and describes the sacrifice for the sons and the subsequent conception. In the 10th (ending on leaf 226 a) the princes are born and in the 11th (ending on leaf 240a) the festivities and rejoicings in connection with the birth are elaborately described. The 12th canto in the first half describes the childhood of Rāma and in the second

it describes the birth of Sītā. It ends on leaf 254b. The 13th ends on leaf 263a and describes the boyhood of Rāma who is represented as having read the various grammars (Śāka-tāyana's, etc.) and Kāvya (Raghu, Kumāra, Meghadūta, Naiṣadha, Māgha, Kirāta). This is only one of the many instances of absurd anachronisms. The 14th canto (ending on leaf 265b) describes the all-pervading might of God who has innumerable assistants in the shape of officers, writers and *ṣaṣṭdāra*. Here occurs a mistake in numbering the cantos. The next canto (15th) numbered as 16th ends on leaf 278b and gives a description of Rāma's pilgrimage to holy places and his instructive discussions with the saints. The writer has tried to give a summary of discourses on philosophical topics in this canto. The 16th (numbered 17th) canto ends on leaf 288b and describes the longing of Sītā for Rāma, Viśvāmitra's arrival in Ayōdhyā and his request to the king for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and the story up to the breaking of Śiva's bow in Mithilā. The 17th (numbered 18th) canto (ending on leaf 296b) contains a description of the marriage of Rāma and Sītā and a detailed account of the dowry given by Janaka. The last canto the 18th (wrongly numbered the 19th) describes the happy residence of Daśaratha in Ayōdhyā with his sons and daughters-in-law, a few stories of ideal charity, the giving of boons to Kaikeyī and the departure of Rāma for the forest. After the colophon to the canto in a couplet the writer possibly describes his own departure from Ayōdhyā on the fifth day of the bright half of Phāgun.

From the literary point of view the work is of little value. But it has importance linguistically and as a work which gives details of the every-day life of the poet's time. The character is Dēvanāgarī mixed with Kaithī. The appearance of the manuscript is old, and, as there is no mention of the copyist, the probability is that it is the author's own copy. The orthography is striking. ॠ represents

j and ञ b, and only a dot below them is added to represent y and v, respectively. ञ regularly represents kh, च ch, स s, ञ dh, ऐ e or y. The nasalisation has been mostly left unnoted. The mātṛā for the long vowel very often represents a short vowel, *grabhahi* represents *garbhahi*, *achara* represents *acchara*. There are many instances of wrong Sanskritisation, e. g., *jakta* for *jagata*. The grammar generally agrees with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsidās.

(2) *Yūsuf-Zulēkhā*.—The manuscript is in the Persian *nas-tāliq* script, pp. 346 with 13 to 15 lines per page, size 7.5" × 4.5". The last leaf and the first three leaves are slightly mutilated, otherwise the manuscript is in good condition. It was in the possession of Hafiz Samiullah Khan Tarin, B.A., LL.B., of Gangyo, district Sultanpur, and has been purchased by the Hindustānī Academy, Allahabad, which is proposing to publish it.<sup>1</sup> The work was written by Shēkh Nisār of Shēkhūpūr, in Hijrī 1200, V.S. 1847, Śaka 1712 or 1790 of the Christian era, as mentioned in the introductory verses. The work gives the well-known story of Yūsuf and Zulēkhā on the model of *Padmāvat* both in subject-matter and in language. It is a fine specimen of the Awadhī language of the last part of the 18th century.

Besides the above, the following manuscripts mentioned in the Reports on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts appear to be in Awadhī:

(a) Report for the year 1900.

No. 4. *Mṛgāvati*—a romantic poem, a precursor of *Padmāvat*, written in Hijrī 909 (1512 A.D.) by Qutban in the reign of Sher Shah's father Husein Shah. This is possibly the earliest available work in Awadhī.

(b) Report for the year 1901.

No. 13. *Baitāla Pacisi* written by one Bhawānī Shankar who lived at Bhadaini in Benares. The date of composition is V. S. 1871 (1814 A.D.).

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written, a notice of the manuscript has appeared in the "Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā," Vol. XI, pp. 445—467.



No. 12. *Shri Rāmāyana* by Jhāma Dāsa written at Vindhācala, Mirzapur, in V. S. 1818 (1761 A.D.).

(c) Report for the year 1902.

No. 110. *Bhakta Saktā kā jhagarā*, composed in Hijri 1053 during the reign of Jehangir—Awadhī mixed with Kananjī.

No. 111. *Hamṣa Jawāhira*, composed in Hijri 1149, V.S. 1858 (1801 A.D.) by Qāsim Shāh of Dariyabad (Oudh)—pure Awadhī.

No. 112. *Gyāna Dīpa*—by Shēikh Nabī of Jaunpur, composed in 1024 A.H. (1619 A.D.)—pure Awadhī.

(d) Report for the year 1904.

No. 7. *Rājā Citramukha ki Kathā*—no information about the author or the date of composition is available from the manuscript—Awadhī mixed with Western Hindi (post-positions *nā* and *kara*).

No. 19. *Kathā cāra Darvēta* by Bhūpa Narayana composed in V. S. 1841 (1797 A.D.)—pure Awadhī. The other two books of the author, No. 29 (a) and (b) (Report, 1909-11) are not in Awadhī.

No. 32. *Citrāvalī* by Usmān, composed in 1613 A.D. on the model of *Padmāvatī*—pure Awadhī.

(e) Report for the years 1909-11.

No. 26. *Baitāla Pacisi* by Bhawānī Sabāya, date of composition not mentioned, date of manuscript 1839 V. S., mixed Awadhī.

No. 49. *Kṛṣṇacaritāmṛta* by Kṣemakaṣana Miśra of Barabanki district (born in 1771 and died in 1861 V. S.—date of composition not known)—pure Awadhī.

No. 78. *Śabdāvalī* by Dūlanadāsa, about 1760 A.D.

No. 85. *Sumanaghana* (a translation of Gulistān by Gaṅgā Dāsa, written in V.S. 1879).

No. 221. *Upākhyāna Vivēka* by Pahalawāna Dāsa, composed in V.S. 1865. Another manuscript is No. 131 of the Report for 1917-19.

No. 273. *Rasa Ratnāgara* by Saīd Pahāra, date not known.

No. 296. *Bhakti Jayamāla* by Śiva Rāma, written in V.S. 1787 (1730 A.D.).

No. 318. *Śabdāvalī* by Tōwara Dāsa, written in V.S. 1887 (1830 A.D.).

(f) Report for the years 1912-14.

No. 17. *Hari Canda Kathā* by Bēnī Bakesa of district Sitapur, written in V.S. 1836 (1779 A.D.)—pure Awadhī.

No. 88. *Bacanāvalī* by Yugalānanda Sharapa of Ayōdhyā "born about V.S. (1863—1807 A.D.)"—a prose work in Awadhī mixed with Hindustānī (*rākhatō hat, mānanā, hōyagā*, etc.).

No. 160. *Bhāgavata*, by Sabala Simha (born about 1645 A.D.).

Nos. 162 and 163. *Prahalāda carita* and *Raghubansa Dipaka*, by Sahaja Rāma who "flourished about 1732 A.D."

No. 191. *Saguna Vilāsa*, by Udaya Nātha, written in V.S. 1841 (1784 A.D.).

(g) Report for the years 1917-19.

No. 13. *Daṅgaṇa Parva* by Balabīra, composed in V.S. 1608 (1552 A.D.).

No. 36. *Hitopadēśa* by Canda, composed in V.S. 1563 (1506 A.D.). Another manuscript is No. 28 of the Report for 1920—22.

No. 48. *Mahābhārata Sabhā Parva*, etc., by Dharma Dāsa, written in V.S. 1711 (1656 A.D.). Another manuscript is No. 41 of the Report for 1920—22.

No. 84 (b). *Sīya-Rāma-rasa mañjarī*, by Jānaki Carapa written in V.S. 1881 (1824 A.D.).

No. 187 (b). *Ekādasi Māhātmya*, by Sūraja Dāsa, written in V.S. 1923 (1866 A.D.).

(h) Report for the years 1920—22.

No. 118. *Bhāgavata Dasama Skandha Bhāṣā* by Navala Dāsa, written in V.S. 1823 (1766 A.D.).

No. 185. *Kaṇṇa Parva*, by Śrīpati of Maūnagara, written in V.S. 1719 (1662 A.D.).

In the catalogue of Hindi manuscripts in the British Museum a book (No. 25 *Lilāvati*) is mentioned as being in the Baiswērī dialect. I had an opportunity of examining the manuscript while I stayed in London and found it to be in Rājasthānī. Of the manuscripts of Hindi in the India Office Library I did not find any in Awadhī (except *Rāmacarita-mānasa* and *Padmāvat*).

It may be pointed out here that the study of Early Awadhī is beset with difficulties. The text of the works has not yet been critically established. It is difficult to find out how far the *tatsama* words found in the texts were correctly pronounced. Or possibly they might represent merely a difference in writing but not in speech. For instance was ॐ pronounced or was it another symbol for ॐ? That ॐ was normally pronounced ॐ is clear from the fact that it replaces ॐ in the manuscripts at many places. The accuracy of the forms also is not authenticated. We sometimes find that the forms of other dialects creep into works in Awadhī, e.g., the *-ga* (Hindustānī) future in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. These might be due to the carelessness of the scribes or might belong to the authors themselves. As remarked above, the various dialects of Hindi were not mutually unintelligible.

For Awadhī as spoken to-day, the only available material is that contained in the volume on Eastern Hindi of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. On investigation it was found to be fairly correct. This has been amply supplemented by me with folk-tales and songs collected from the Awadhī area. Sometimes in the Hindi dramas of modern days, Awadhī is uttered by the minor illiterate characters, for instance, in the farces written by G. P. Srivastava (Gonda) and in the *Nētrōnmīlan Nāṭak* by the Misra Brothers (Sitapur and Lucknow). The late Pt. Shridhar Pathak also employed Awadhī occasionally in his poems.

## Dialects of Awadhi.

§ 7. Of the main Awadhi area, the dialects can be divided into three divisions—Western, Central and Eastern. The dialects of Kheri (Lakhimpur), Sitapur, Lucknow, Unao and Fatehpur are Western, those of Bahraich, Barabanki and Rae Bareilly are Central while those of Gonda, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh, Allahabad, Jannpur and Mirzapur are Eastern. This division is based on the commonness of certain linguistic traits detailed in the grammar given hereafter.

## Formation of Awadhi.

§ 8. In the following pages sounds and grammar of Awadhi, Early and Modern, have been studied in detail. As regards sounds of Modern Awadhi, I have examined my own dialect,<sup>1</sup> Lakhimpuri, very minutely and have verified the results by experimental phonetics wherever this was practicable. Information about other dialects is based on personal observation of the actual speech of the people. I got tales and songs from the villagers by going to the villages myself and tried to keep them away from the influence of Hindustāni as far as possible. The grammars of the dialects are based on the material thus gathered and have been supplemented by certain data taken from the literate and habitual speakers of Awadhi of the various tracts.

## Vocabulary of Awadhi.

§ 9. The vocabulary does not require any special remarks. It is predominantly Aryan, but here and there there

<sup>1</sup> I was born in the Lakhimpuri area and habitually spoke Lakhimpuri until I had to leave Lakhimpur (at the age of 17 years) for University education. I, however, spent my vacations at my native place. I have been regularly speaking Hindustāni now, except at my home where even now Awadhi is spoken. The inscriptions and palatograms appended here are specimens of my speech—taken in London. For want of proper facilities in India, it was not possible to verify the results arrived at by me through experiment, by testing the speech of other speakers of Awadhi.

is a sprinkling of words of the non-Aryan substratum and of foreign origin. It is only in vocabulary that the speech of one class differs from that of another. The Brahmins are fond of Sanskrit words while the Kayasthas, due to their closer association with the Muslim administration, have a larger percentage of words of Persian origin in their speech than other classes of Hindus. The Banias pick up the words of their special trade from the towns and the agricultural classes employ their own words for expressing the concepts of their occupation. The percentage of special words, however, is so small that it is almost negligible and all understand one another without the slightest difficulty.

The speech of women does not differ from that of men in essentials. Women, however, are more emotional in expression. They avoid words expressing reprehensible ideas. Indian women (particularly Hindu women) never utter the names of their husbands and also generally avoid uttering the names of their eldest sons. In quarrels where men would generally come to blows, women satisfy themselves by showering abuse and curses. Their vocabulary of abuse is thus more copious.

### **Orthography of Awadhi.**

§ 10. Awadhi is reduced to-day to writing only for short messages from one village to another. The script is Kaithi in such cases. The Banias write their accounts in Hundiwālī (also known as Muriyā). These are merely convenient forms of the Dēvanāgarī script. The educated classes generally use either the Persian or the Dēvanāgarī script.

**PART I**  
**ĀWADHI PHONETICS**



# CHAPTER 1

## INDIVIDUAL SOUNDS

### Sound-system

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 11. The texts reveal the following sounds:

##### (a) Consonants

###### (i) mutes

k	kh	g	gh
c	ch	j	jh
f	fh	ḍ	ḍh
t	th	d	dh
p	ph	b	bh

###### (ii) nasals

ñ ṇ̃ ṇ ṇ̣ m ṃ

###### (iii) semi-vowels

y r l v r̥ r̥h

###### (iv) sibilants

[s] [ʃ] s

###### (v) aspirate

h [h̥]

##### (b) Vowels

a ā i ī u ū \*e ē \*o o [ɛ]

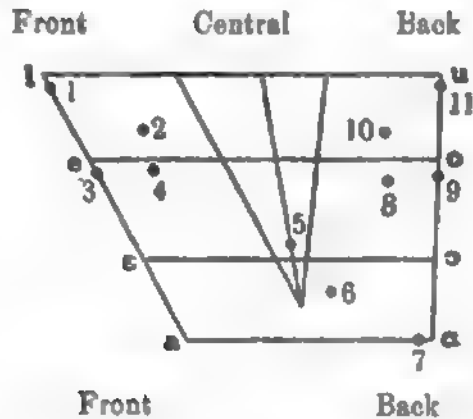
NOTE—The letters given in brackets are found in the texts though rarely. As shown below they are merely orthographic symbols to represent other sounds (s, kh, h and r̥). The sounds with asterisks are represented in writing by symbols next to them.



## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 12.	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	(PALATAL) RETROFLEX.	VELAR	GLOTTAL
1. Plosives ...	p b	t d			ṭ ḍ	k g	
„ Aspirates	ph bh	th dʱ			ṭh ḍh	kh gʱ	
2. Affricates ...				ʃ ʒ			
„ Aspirates				ch ʒʱ			
3. Nasals ...	m		n	(p)	(ŋ)	(ŋ)	
„ Aspirates	mʱ	nʱ					
4. Lateral ...				l			
„ Aspirate				lʱ			
5. Rolled ...			r				
„ Aspirate			rʱ				
6. Flapped ...					ɾ		
„ Aspirate					ɾʱ		
7. Fricative ...			s				h ʁ
8. Semi-vowels ...	w		j				

## 9. Vowels



The position of Awadhi vowels is shown by dots in the above chart.

1. *ix, īx*
2. *i, ī, j*
3. *ex, ēx*
4. *e, ē, q*
5. *•*
6. *Δ, Ā*
7. *ax*
8. *o, ō*
9. *ox, ōx*
10. *u, ū, p*
11. *ux, ūx*

NOTE.—(1) In the following pages a complete description of sounds of modern Awadhi has been given. This has been verified and attested by experiments wherever it was possible. In the case of Early Awadhi it has not been possible to describe the sounds in detail on account of the absence of evidence. The presumption, however, is that the pronunciation in the early stage also was much the same as in modern Awadhi.

(2) As observed by Dr. Bloch (*Langue Marathe* § 28) 'it is by the grammatical forms chiefly that the Indo-Aryan languages, situated to the east of the Indus, are distinguished from one another. The phonetic system in them is, on the other hand,

perceptibly identical . . . ' Detailed phonology of Indo-Aryan has already been discussed by Grierson (BSOS, Vol. I, Part III, 1920), Bloch (*Langue Marathe—Phonétique*), Turner (*Gujarati Phonology*, JRAS., 1921-22) and Chatterji (*Origin and Development of Bengali*, Vol. I). I have, therefore, confined myself particularly to Awadhi.

## Plosives and Affricates

### A. EARLY AWADHI

#### MUTES

§ 13. The Mutes occur initially and medially. For instance

*k* *kāli* 'play' (J. 49), *ākusa* 'goad' (J. 39), *kai* 'of' (T. 164), *ṣikā* 'coronation' (T. 159), *kāara* 'prince' (N. 9), *kanaka* 'gold' (N. 14), *ken* 'some one' (Lāl), *dhanuka* 'bow' (Lāl), *kaṁāva* 'earned' (Nisār), *akāraṭha* 'useless' (Nisār).

*kḥ* *kḥāi* 'having eaten' (J. 121), *likḥi* 'written' (J. 121), *kḥēlata* 'playing' (T. 377), *nirakhata* 'seeing' (T. 374), *kḥicahai* 'will drag' (N. 21), *bakhānū* 'description' (N. 21) *kḥaṇḍa* 'part' (Lāl.) *ukḥāri* 'uprooted' (Lāl.), *kḥari* 'standing' (Nisār), *dēkḥi* 'having seen' (Nisār).

NOTE.—In Lāldās the symbol for *ṣ* all through represents *kḥ*; similarly in Tulsidās also.

*g* *gāḥi* 'knot' (J. 120) *māraga* 'path' (J. 120), *garajai* 'thunders' (T. 375), *māga* 'path' (T. 375), *gosāl* 'master' (N. 21), *jōgī* 'yogin' (N. 21), *gunavārē* 'meritorious' (Lāl.), *jagya* 'sacrifice' (Lāl), *garaba* 'pride' (Nisār), *agvā* 'order' (Nisār).

NOTE.—In Nisār the symbol for *k* represents both *k* and *g*.

*gh* *ghāli* 'having put' (J. 124), *siṅghala* 'Ceylon' (J. 120), *ghamaṇḍa* 'pride' (T. 375) *nāgḥehu* 'crossed' (T. 386), *gharī* 'hour' (N. 15), *sugha-rāḥi* 'look pretty' (N. 12), *aghōraḥi* 'Aghōra'

(Lāl. 's', *samghārē* 'slaughtered' (Lāl.), *ghāli* 'having put' (Nisār), *paraghaṣ* 'plainly' (Nisār).

*c* *caleṇ* 'started' (J. 121), *bica* 'middle' (J. 122).

*ch* *chapāia* 'should not be concealed' (J. 123, *āchāi* 'is' (J. 123).

*j* *jō* 'who' (J. 123), *banijā* 'merchant' (J. 127).

*jh* *jhākā* 'peeped' (J. 61), *samujhi* 'having realised' (T. 383).

*ṭ* *fūṭa* 'broke' (T. 116), *chōṭi* 'small' (J. 140).

*ṭh* *ṭhukurasoḥāṣi* 'pleasing to the master' (T. 163), *jhūṭhi* 'false' (T. 163).

*ḍ* *ḍagai* 'moves' (T. 108), *bhāḍārī* 'storekeeper' (J. 109).

*ḍh* *ḍhōla* 'drum' (T. 366), *paḍhi* 'well-read' (J. 83).

NOTE.—Intervocally *ḍ* and *ḍh* are found only after a nasal (ṅ) or after nasalisation, otherwise they become *ṛ* and *ṛh* respectively. The manuscripts generally have *ḍ* and *ḍh* (for *ṛ* and *ṛh* also) but the printed books differ. Jāyasa's *Padmāvat*, for instance, keeps *ḍ* and *ḍh* throughout in the edition of the Bengal Asiatic Society while the *Rāmacaritamānasa* of Tulsidās gives *ḍ*, *ḍh* and *ṛ*, *ṛh* distinctly in the Nāgarī Pracāriṭī Sabhā edition. *Indrāvati* of Nūr Muhammad has promiscuously both the symbols<sup>1</sup>.

*ṛ*, *ṛh* *bara* 'big' (T. 107), *barhai* 'increases' (T. 103), *chāraṭi* 'I leave' (N. 20), *kāṛhai* 'pulls' (N. 17), but *kāḍhai* in the next line.

*t* *tumhārē* 'yours' (T. 102), *naḥhata* 'stars' (T. 103).

*th* *thira* 'steady' (J. 70), *māthai* 'on the head' (J. 72).

*d* *dēkha* 'having seen' (J. 72), *ḍḍara* 'stomach' (J. 78).

*dh* *dhani* 'blessed' (J. 80), *gandha* 'smell' (J. 79).

*p* *pūri* 'complete' (J. 79), *dipā* 'shone' (J. 81).

*ph* *phōrai* 'to be broken' (T. 163), *hariphāreuri* 'a variety of fruit' (J. 420).

<sup>1</sup> *ṛ* and *ṛh* have been dealt with here, therefore, and not under semi-vowels.

- ḍ* *ḍairi* 'enemy' (J. 249), *jāḍā* 'shall go' (J. 249).  
*ḍḥ* *ḍḥūlāṭ* 'forget' (J. 249), *ūḍḥi* 'having got bored' (J. 160).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 14. The sound **p** is a breathed bi-labial unaspirated plosive. In a word it can occur initially as in **pain** 'sharp', **paxar** 'leaf', medially as in **piɹpar** 'a kind of tree', **upɹar** 'above' or finally as in **saxarɹ** 'curse', **naɹp** 'measure'.

§ 15. The sound **b** is a voiced bilabial unaspirated plosive. It is fully voiced, inasmuch as the voice begins earlier than the explosion, and thus slightly differs in shade from English **b**. In a word it can occur initially as in **baxp** 'father', **biɹijax** 'daughter', medially as in **kabisax** 'yellow clay,' and finally as in **ɟaxib** 'shall go'.

NOTE.—Final **b** is generally unexploded and devoiced (See Ins. I)

§ 16. The sound **t** is a breathed dental unaspirated plosive. The passage of breath is closed by making the tip of the tongue touch the points of both the upper and lower teeth (see Pal. 2). In a word it can occur initially as in **tirɹɹ** 'three', **turAt** 'at once', medially as in **paturijax** 'harlot', **kutawax** 'dog', or finally as in **saxt** 'seven', **paraxt** 'a big dish'.

§ 17. The sound **d** is a voiced unaspirated dental plosive. The closure is made just as to pronounce **t** but the vocal cords vibrate all the time until the explosion. In a word it can occur initially as in **difiɹɹ** 'he gave', **dulaxɹax**

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the examples given in the following pages have been taken from the Lakhimpuri dialect.

'bride-groom', medially as in **kurdAb** 'to jump', **bārdArq** 'cloud' or finally as in **tōrd** 'protruding belly,' **gērd** 'ball'.

### t

§ 18. The sound **t** is a breathed unaspirated retroflex plosive. The closure is made by the touch of the back of the tip of the tongue at the smooth surface of the hard palate right above the rough back of the teeth-ridge (see Pal. 3). In a word, it can occur initially as in **tēru** 'habit,' **tAṭuar** 'pony,' medially as in **khAṭijar** 'bedstead,' **loṭijar** 'water-jug' or finally as in **bfiart** 'bard,' **bfiert** 'present'.

### ḍ

§ 19. The sound **ḍ** is a voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive. The closure is made just as in **t** but the voice is heard all along until the explosion. It can occur initially in a word as in **ḍeurfiex** 'one and a half time,' **ḍebijar**, 'casket,' or medially and finally when preceded by its nasal as in **kaṇḍar** 'cow-dung cakes,' **maṇḍir** 'grain-market,' **laṇḍ** 'penis', **ṭhaṇḍ** 'cold'.

### k

§ 20. The sound **k** is a breathed unaspirated velar plosive. The back of the tongue rises up towards the soft palate almost at the point where it meets the hard palate and makes the closure there ordinarily. When a front vowel follows it, however, the closure is made further forward on the hard palate particularly on the sides (see Pal. 4 and 5). In a word, it can occur initially as in **kaṇarar** 'cloth,' **kinarir** 'border,' medially as in **paḷekar** 'bed,' **khirkijar** 'window,' or finally as in **taxk** 'opportunity,' **nirk** 'good'.

### g

§ 21. The sound **g** is the voiced unaspirated velar plosive. The closure in the mouth is formed just as for **k**, but here the voice is heard all through until the sound explodes. In a word, it can occur initially as in **goṣṣūz** 'wheat.'

**gārṭhi** 'knot,' medially as in **leñōgar** 'petticoat,' **baḡijar** 'garden' or finally as in **bñārg** 'an intoxicating plant,' **ṭārg** 'leg'.

### ph

§ 22. The sound **ph** is the aspirated form of **p**. It resembles the Southern English *p* of stressed syllables with this difference that in the Awadhi sound the aspiration is stronger as with all the aspirated sounds treated below. In a word, it can occur initially, *e.g.*, in **pharikar** 'a gate made of straw,' **phorab** 'to break,' medially, *e.g.*, in **talphatī** 'writhing,' **saphar** 'clear,' or finally as in **barph** 'vapour,' **marph** 'pardon'.

### bi

§ 23. The sound **bi** is the aspirated form of **b**. The voice is heard throughout the aspiration. In a word, it can occur initially as in **bñaxir** 'brother,' **bñixab** 'to be wet,' medially, *e.g.*, in **khambñax** 'a pillar,' **gorbñir** 'cauliflower' or finally, *e.g.*, in **ṭorbñ** 'spaces of sewing,' **jirbñ** 'tongue'.

### th

§ 24. The sound **th** is the aspirated form of **t**. In a word, it can occur initially as in **thābñerax** 'post,' **thurkṛ** 'saliva,' medially as in **parthar** 'stone,' **methaurir** 'small tablets made of *urd* and used as meat,' or finally as in **sarth** 'with,' **marth** 'forehead'.

### di

§ 25. The sound **di** is the aspirated form of **d**. The voice is heard throughout the aspiration. In a word, it can occur initially as in **dñowaxir** 'washing,' **dñaxa** 'paddy,' medially in **bārdñab** 'to tie,' **sērdñī** 'an opening in wall made by burglars,' or finally as in **kārdñ** 'shoulder,' **bārdñ** 'string'.

## th

§ 26. The sound **th** is the aspirated form of **t**. In a word, it can occur initially as in **thaṭṭhijarwāb** 'to put in standing posture', **thaur** 'room, space', medially as in **larthir** 'stick', **maṇṭhar** 'whey' or finally as in **karth** 'wood', **qṭhīrth** 'obstinate'.

## qh

§ 27. The sound **qh** is the aspirated form of **q**; the voice is heard throughout the aspiration. It can occur initially in a word as in **qhōrwar** 'presents', **qhōrlak** 'drum' or medially when preceded by its nasal as in **thanqṭharir** 'cooling beverage'.

## kh

§ 28. The sound **kh** is the aspirated form of **k**. In a word, it can occur initially as in **khert** 'field', **khōrlab** 'to open', medially as in **mukhijar** 'headman', **ārkhir** 'eyes', or finally as in **bṭurkh** 'hunger', **sandurkh** 'box'.

## gh

§ 29. The sound **gh** is the aspirated form of **g**; the voice is present throughout the aspiration. In a word it can occur initially as in **ghōghārījār** 'a girl's petticoat', **ghērāudax** 'a baby's toy-house of sand', medially as in **nārgṭhāb** 'to cross', **sūrgṭhēu** 'I smelt' or finally as in **ghāzgh** 'a person who cleverly hides his motive'.

## c

§ 30. The sound **c** is the breathed affricate unaspirated palatal consonant. The closure of the breath is made by the front of the tongue at the rough back of the teeth-ridge and is followed by friction (See Pal. 6). The touch continues a little longer than in the case of other plosives **k**, **t**, etc., and a slight affrication is perceptible. This affrication is, however, much less than in the corresponding English sound **tʃ**.



**c** can occur initially as in **cAnax** 'gram', **coṭṭax** 'thief', medially as in **khārcir** 'a basket', **pāñicarni** 'cognizance', or finally in a word as in **pārc** 'five', **narē** 'dance'.

### j

§ 31. The sound **j** is the voiced variety of **c** and may be called a voiced affricate unaspirated palatal consonant. In a word it can occur initially as in **jārgñ** 'thigh', **jaun** 'which', medially as in **bñājab** 'to string', **māzjeñ** 'I crumbled (trans.)', or finally as in **razj** 'mason', **mūzj** 'a kind of grass'.

### ch

§ 32. The sound **ch** is the aspirated variety of **c**. In a word it can occur initially as in **chagorir** 'goat', **chārtAb** 'to wash', medially as in **pazcher** 'behind', **tirchar** 'crooked', or finally as in **chūrch** 'empty', **kōrch** 'lap apron'.

### jñ

§ 33. The sound **jñ** is the aspirated form of **j**. In a word it can occur initially as in **jñālorax** 'mashed vegetable leaves', **jñārgax** 'shrimp', medially as in **mājñozlax** 'of middling size', **surjñAb** 'to be visible', or finally as in **sāzjñ** 'evening', **jñāzjñ** 'an ornament for ankles'.

### General Notes on the Plosives.

§ 34. The voiced plosives are generally shorter than the breathed ones. For instance, **t** of **paxtir** 'leaf' is longer than **d** of **paxdix** 'broke wind' (See Inscs. 2 and 3). The voiced plosives have strong voice when they are intervocalic. In the initial and final positions the voice is comparatively less strong (Cf. Inscs. 3 and 4).

In an intervocalic breathed plosive, faint voice appears generally in the initial stage of closure (plosion) as well as in the explosion (See **k** of Insc. 1).

The aspirated forms of the plosives are merely plosives with **h** or **ñ** (see aspirated sounds in Inscs. 1, 4, 7, 10, 15,

19 and 22). The aspiration, however, is united closely with the explosion. It is convenient to treat the aspirates as separate sounds, as they have been so treated all through by Indian grammarians.

A long consonant is about sixty per cent longer than the corresponding short one (See Inscs. 5 and 6, **partax** and **patrax** 'leaf').

Final plosives preceded by a short vowel are longer than those preceded by a long vowel (See Inscs. 7 and 8 **pith** and **pirth** 'back').

The general remarks made about plosives are applicable to the affricates also. An affricate is generally a little longer than a plosive, breathed or voiced, (See Inscs. 11 and 12 **caṭibax** 'shall lick' and **ēcibax** 'shall irrigate').

#### C. ORIGIN OF SOUNDS

§ 35. Initial Awadhi **k** is derived from MIA **k**- which came from OIA

- (i) **k**- *kārya* > **karj** 'business'
- (ii) **kr**- *kroṣa* > **kox** 'a distance of two miles'
- (iii) **sk**- (exceptionally) *skandha* > **kārdā** 'shoulder'.

Medial and final **-k** is derived from MIA

- (i) **-k** after *ṣ* *vaṣka* (< Skt. *vakra*) > **bārkax** 'crooked'
- (ii) **-kk** *cikkāṇa* > **cirkax** 'smooth', OIA *pakra* (MIA *pikka*) > **park** 'ripe'.

In words of foreign origin **k** represents foreign *k* and *q*, and sometimes *g*, e.g., **kalam** < *qalam* 'pen', **dukarn** < *dukān* 'shop', **bakucax** < *bugcā* 'a load'. **k** is also found in certain words which appear to be *Deśī*, e.g., **boikax** 'a bamboo box'.

Besides **k** is found in many modern suffixes, e.g., **baṭax** : **baṭkax** 'big'.

**kh**

§ 36. Initial **kh-** comes from MIA **kh-** which was derived from OIA

- (i) *kh- khādyā-* > **kharjāz** 'a variety of sweetmeat'
- (ii) *ks- kṣetra* > **khert** 'field'
- (iii) *sk- skambha-* > **khambhāz** 'pillar'.

Medially and finally **kh** comes from MIA

- (i) *-kḥh- paḥkhī-* > **pārkhiṛ** 'small winged insects',  
**surkh** 'dry', **ukhazrab** 'to dig up'
- (ii) *-iḥh- \*kaṇkha-* > **kāzkhij** 'armpit'.

In some words **kh** represents OIA **ṣ** by its pronunciation as **kh**, e.g., **dozkhṛ** < *doṣaḥ* 'defect'.

In foreign loan-words **kh** represents foreign **kh** generally, e.g., **akharozṭ** < *akhrōṭ* 'nuts', and in **bakhat** < *vaqt* 'time' it represents **q**.

**g**

§ 37. Initially **g-** comes from MIA **g-** which is derived from OIA

- (i) *g- gata-* > **gaz** 'went'
- (ii) *gr- grāmaḥ* > **gāru** 'village'.

**g** represents **jñ** in *ardhatatsama* words, e.g., **jñāna** : **gjān** 'knowledge' and **-k-** in **geirax** < *ekādāta* and **gh** in **aragṛ** < *arghyaḥ* 'offering'.

Medially and finally **-g-** comes from MIA

- (i) *-gg- agḡi* > **argi** 'fire'
- (ii) *-ḡ-* after **ñ**, *aṅga-* > **āzgar** 'a sort of coat'.

In foreign loan-words **g** represents foreign

**g** and **q**, e.g., **garizb** < *garīb* 'poor', **gumān** < *gumān* 'pride'.

**gh (gḥ)**

§ 38. Initial **gh-** is derived from MIA **gh-** which itself comes from OIA

- gh- ghṛta-* > **ghiu** 'clarified butter'.

In **ghazm** 'one sweep of material put in pan for baking' **gh** is possibly connected with *g-* (*grahana*).

Intervocal and final **-gh** comes from MIA

(i) *-ggh-* *vaggha* > **baggh** 'tiger'

(ii) *-gh-* after *-ñ-* *luñghai* > **nāṛghai** 'crosses'.

In **aroghiz** 'a wooden vessel', the possibility of derivation is from 'learned' *arghya-* 'offering' owing to water and flowers, etc., having been offered in such a vessel.

**gh** is also found in many *deśi* words, e.g., **ghūṛic** or **ghīṭuar** 'neck'.

■

§ 39. Initial **c-** comes from MIA *c-* derived from OIA

(i) *c-* *cakra-* > **cakiaz** 'stone-mill'

(ii) *cy-* *cyavati* > **cuai** 'leaks'.

Medially and finally **-c** is derived from MIA

(i) *-cc-* *saccam* > **sāzcp** 'true'

(ii) *-c-* after *-ñ-* *āñcala* > **āzcar** 'breast'.

In foreign loan-words **c** represents foreign *c* (tʃ) e.g., **ackan**: **ackan** 'tunic'.

**ch**

§ 40. Initial **ch-** is derived from MIA *ch-* which comes from OIA

(i) *ch-* *chedana-* > **cherniz** 'chisel'

(ii) [*ʃ-* in **chaz** < *ʃaʃ* 'six']

Medial and final **ch** comes from MIA

(i) *-cch-* *acchāṣ-* Early Aw. *āchāṣ* 'is', *maccha-* > **macheriz** 'fish', *macchiā* > **marchiz** 'fly', cf. **mamarkhiz** 'bee'

(ii) *-ch-* after *ñ*, *pañchāṣ* > **pōrchai** 'wipes'.

**j (j)**

§ 41. Initial **j-** is derived from MIA *j-* which comes from OIA

(i) *j-* *jihvā* > **jizbi** 'tongue'

- (ii) *jy- jyeṣṭha* > *jexṭh* 'elder'
- (iii) *jv- jvalati* > *jarai* 'burns'
- (iv) *dy- dyūta-* > *juāz* 'gambling'
- (v) *y- yauvana* > *jorban* 'youthfulness'.

Medial and final -*j* is derived from MIA

- (i) *-jj-* *ajja* > *azj* 'to-day', *u<sub>2</sub>jar* 'white', *banij* 'merchandise'

- (ii) *-j-* coming after *n* *pā<sub>2</sub>jar* < *pañjara* 'skeleton'.

In *tatsama* words intervocal -*j*- represents Sanskrit -*j*-  
e.g., *ra<sub>2</sub>jar* 'king'.

In foreign loan-words *j* represents foreign *j* (*jama<sub>2</sub>* < *jama<sub>2</sub>* 'collection') and *z* (*ma<sub>2</sub>jar* < *mazaḥ* 'fun'), *ṣ* (*gu<sub>2</sub>jar* < *guḍar* 'sustenance'), *ḍ* (*ha<sub>2</sub>jur* < *huḍūr* 'Your Honour'), *ṣ* (*julum* < *mulm* 'oppression'), all of which were pronounced as *z* in Persian.

### *jḥ (jh)*

§ 42. Initial *jḥ*- represents MIA *jḥ*- which is mostly found in onomatopoeic words, and *Deśi* words:

- jḥ- jḥaffa-* > *jḥaṭ* 'soon'.

Medial and final *jḥ* comes from MIA

- (i) *-jjḥ-* *bu<sub>2</sub>jḥai* > *bu<sub>2</sub>jḥai* 'understands', *aṇajḥāḍ* > *aṇjḥar* 'holiday'
- (ii) *-jḥ-* coming after *n-* *saṇjḥā* > *sā<sub>2</sub>jḥi* 'evening'.

### *t (ṭ)*

§ 43. Initial *t*- comes from MIA *t* (OIA *tr-*) and from *deśi* words.

- tuffai* > *turṭai* 'breaks', *tārg* 'leg'.

Medial and final -*t* is derived from MIA

- (i) *-tt-* *vaffai* > *barṭar* 'is'
- (ii) *-t-* after *n-* *kaṇṭaa* > *kā<sub>2</sub>ṭar* 'thorn'
- (iii) *-tt-* of *deśi* words, e.g., *perṭ* < \**peṣṭa* 'stomach'.

In *qā<sub>2</sub>ṭab* which possibly comes from *danḍa-*

-*t*- appears to represent devoiced -*ṭ*-.

In loan-words from English **t** represents English *t*, e.g.,  
**term** : English *time*.

### **th** (*ṭh*)

§ 44. Initial **th**- is derived from MIA *ṭh*- and is also found in *deśi* words, e.g., **thazkur** 'lord', **thag** 'robber'.

Medial and final **th** comes from MIA

(i) *-ṭṭh- aṅguṭṭha-* > **āguṭṭha** 'thumb'

(ii) *-ṭh-* coming after *ṇ-* **gaṇṭhī** > **gāṇṭhi** 'knot'.

NOTE.—In **hūṛṭhaz** 'three and a half' < *ardha-caaturtha*, OIA *-ṛṭh-* which is represented as *-ṭh-* in Awadhī (**cauth** < *caurītha*) appears as **ṭh**. The cerebralisation is attested at the Prakrit stage, however (Chatterji: p. 493). Pkt. *-ṭṭh-* in *keṇiṭṭha*: Skt. *kapīṭṭha* is, however, found as *ṭh* in Aw. **kaithaz**, cf. Mālvī *keṭiṭh*.

Medial and final **th** is found in many *deśi* words also, e.g., **therṭh** 'entirely'.

N.B.—For *-ṭṭh-* of Pkt. represented as *-ṭṭh-* in certain cases see below.

### **ḍ** (*ḍ*)

§ 45. Initial **ḍ**- represents MIA *ḍ*- derived from OIA *ḍ* *danḍa-* > **ḍāṛṛaz** 'stalk', *danḍaka* > **ḍāre** 'a biting insect', *dvi-ardha* > **ḍorṛi** 'one and a half'.

Where Aw. **ḍ**- corresponds with Sanskrit *ḍ*- (e.g., **ḍorṛaz** : *ḍora-* 'thread', the latter represents either a late MIA cerebralisation or a loan-word from *deśi*).

**ḍ**- occurs in many words of *deśi* origin, e.g., **ḍair**, 'branch', **ḍōrgiz** 'boat'.

Medially and finally **ḍ** is found only after *ṇ* and in what appear as modern loan-words from other dialects: **paṇḍaz** 'the keeper of a sacred place', **gaṇḍaz** 'a thread with some mystical influence of some saint, worn on the neck or on the wrist; a group of four', **kaṇḍaz** 'cow-dung cake.'

NOTE.—In Early Awadhī medial **ḍ**- possibly represents *ṛ* mostly.

### qñ (qh)

§ 46. Initial qñ- is derived from MIA qh- which comes from OIA

- (i) dh with r, etc., *dhr̥ṣṭa* > qñṛṣṭh 'naughty'
- (ii) qh which is either late cerebralisation or is found in a *deśi* loan-word, e.g., qñorwa < qhaukatā- 'brings, gathers'.

Medial and final -qñ is found only after ṇ and in few words: *ṭhaṇqñ* 'cold'.

There are a large number of words where qñ occurs initially; these are probably of *deśi* origin, e.g., qñorl 'drum', qñeiz 'many', qñakuliz 'a paddle', qñūṛṣṭa 'searches'.

### t

§ 47. Initial t- comes from MIA t- derived from OIA

- (i) t- *taptā* > *tart* 'hot'
- (ii) tr- *trini* > *tirn* 'three'.

Medial and final -t represents MIA

- (i) -tt- *putto* > *puttp* 'son', *satta* > *sart* 'seven'
- (ii) -t- after n- *danto* > *dārt* 'tooth'.

In *tatsama* and *ardha-tatsama* words, -t might represent Sanskrit -t, e.g.,

*yatan* < *yatna* 'means'.

In foreign loan-words t represents t, e.g., *maut* 'death'.

### th

§ 48. Initial th- comes from MIA th- derived from OIA

- (i) st- *stana* > *than* 'udder'
- (ii) sth- *sthāṭi* > *tharijaz* 'dish'

Medially and finally -th is derived from MIA

-tt- derived from OIA

- (i) tt- *kapittha* > *kaithaz* 'a fruit'
- (ii) -kt- *siktha* > *sirh* 'a grain'

(iii) -*rth- sārtha-* > **sarthis** 'companion'

(iv) -*st- prastara* > **parthar** 'pebble'.

**th** in all positions occurs in *deśī* words also, e.g., **thapaṭax** 'slap', **thuxthun** 'horse's nostrils'. In *tatsama* and *ardha-tatsama* words Aw. -**th-** might represent Sanskrit -**th-**, e.g., **kathax** 'story'.

## d

§ 49. Initial **d-** comes from MIA *d-* derived from OIA

(i) *d- dadhi-* > **dañhiu** 'curds'

(ii) *dr- droṇa-* > **doṇax** 'a cup made of leaves'.

Medial and final -**d** goes back to MIA

(i) -*dd- haliddā-* > **hardix** 'turmeric', *bhādra-pada-* > **bhāzdaū** 'the Bhādrapada month'

(ii) -*d- after -n- manda-* > **māzdaṣ** 'ill'.

NOTE. — -**d** derived from MIA. -**d** after *n* is not found in the Eastern dialects where the nasalisation plus -**d** in such cases is represented by *n*, e.g., Lmp. **cāzdis**, J. **cazrix** 'silver'.

In Lmp. **daurab** (Eastern **dhaurab**), deaspiration of Skt. *dhāv-* 'to run' is possible.<sup>1</sup> *dh-* in this verb is attested by Early Awadhi (Tulsi : *dhāi* 'having run').

## dh (dh)

§ 50. Initial **dh-** goes back to MIA *dh-* derived from OIA

(i) *dh- dhānya* > **dhāzn** 'corn, paddy'

(ii) In Aw. **dhix**, **dhijax** 'daughter', **dh-** goes back to MIA *dh-* (Pāli *dhītā*) representative of *d-* in OIA (*duhitā*).

Medial and final -**dh** is derived from MIA

(i) -*ddh- duddha* > **duzdh** 'milk', *giddha* > **gizdh** 'vulture'.

<sup>1</sup> (i) *dhavati* > **dhazai**

(ii) *dravati* > **davai** > *dava-ḍa-i* > **dauṛe**



- (ii) *-dh* after *n*, *bandhai* > *bāzdhai* 'ties', *randhai* > *rāzdhai* 'cooks'.

NOTE— *-dh* derived from MIA *-dh-* after *-n-* is not found in Eastern dialects where the nasalisation plus *-dh* in such cases is represented by *-nḥ*, e.g., *baṇṇhai* 'ties', *aṇṇaṇṇi* 'darkness'. In Lakhimpurī and other Western dialects *-dh* intrudes in other cases also where Eastern dialects have *-nḥ* derived from MIA, e.g., Lmp. *jōḍḥaijāz* (Eastern *jonḥaijāz*) < *jonḥa-* 'moonlight', Lmp. *kāḍḥaijāz* (Eastern *kanḥaijāz*) < *kaṇḥa-* 'Kṛṣṇa'.

*dh-* occurs in certain words which are of obscure origin, e.g., *dhāmaṇṇi* 'wild sport', *dhūxm* 'show, pomp'.

## P

§ 51. Initial *p-* comes from MIA *p-* derived from OIA

- (i) *p-* *patṛi* : *paxtix* 'leaf', *pṛeck-* : *puxch-* 'to ask'  
 (ii) *pr-* *priya-* : *pijāz* 'beloved', *prasa-* : *pasar-* 'to lie down'.

Medial and final *-p* comes from MIA

- (i) *-pp* *uppajjai* : *upejai* 'is born', *sappa* : *sāṇp* 'snake', *appaṇam* : *apan* 'one's own'  
 (ii) *-p* after *-m-* *kampai* : *kāṇpai* 'trembles'.

*p* is found in many words of *deśi* origin, e.g., *poṛṭ* 'belley', *ṭorpix* 'cap'.

*p* in foreign loan-words represents foreign *p*. In *superd* 'white' it stands for Persian *f* (*sufaid*).

## ph

§ 52. Initial *ph-* comes from MIA *ph-* derived from OIA

- (i) *ph-* *phala* : *phal* 'fruit', *phālguna* : *phaṛgun* 'the month Phālgun'  
 (ii) *sp-* *spand-* : *phāzd-* 'to jump'  
 (iii) *sph-* *sphuṭ-* : *phuxṭ-* 'to break'.

Medial and final *ph* represents MIA

(i) *-pph-* *vappha-* : **baɪph** 'vapour', *upphaṇāi* : **uphenaxi** 'bursts up as foam'

(ii) *-ph-* after *m* *gumphā-* : **goɪphax** 'twining'.

**ph** occurs in *deśi* words, e.g., **phēɪɪax** 'a wrapper', **hāɪphab** 'to breathe deeply when exhausted'.

In foreign loan-words, *ph* represents *f*, e.g., **saphax** 'clear' : Pers. *sāf*.

## b

§ 53. Initial **b-** represents MIA (a) *b-* which represents OIA

- (i) *b-* *budhya-* **buɪɪɪ** 'to understand'
- (ii) *br-* *brāhmaṇa-* : **baɪmɪan** 'Brahmin'
- (iii) *dv-* *dvādaśa-* : **baɪɪɪ** 'twelve' (and so forth in the numerals).

(b) *v-* which represents

OIA

- (i) *v-* *vātāvali-* : **baɪaxɪɪ** 'wind', *vismar-* : **biɪar-** 'to forget', *vavaiṣṭha-* : **baɪɪh-** 'sitting'
- (ii) *vy-* *vyāghra-* : **baɪɪɪɪ** 'tiger'.

(c) *m-* which represents

OIA

*m-* *mukula-* : **baɪ** 'blossom of the mango tree.'

Medial and final **-b** represents MIA

- (i) *-b-* after *m*, *amba-* (< *āmra*) : **ābiɪax** 'green mangoes', *tambūla-* : **tāboɪɪɪ** 'seller of betel-leaves'.
- (ii) *-bb-* *dubbala-* : **duɪɪar** 'thin', *kabbura-* : **kaɪɪɪ** 'spotted'.

*N.B.*—Western Awadhī does not have *-mb-* as *-m* as Hindustānī and Eastern Awadhī have, for instance W. Aw. **kāɪɪɪ** (variant **kamariɪ**) 'blanket' < *kambala-*, **jamuniɪ**

<jambū- is a loan-word, the pure Western Awadhī word being **pharōidar** < *phalendra*-

In the numerals **-bb-** has been retained, **chabbis** 'twenty-six'.

In **baṣini** 'sister' there is evidence of a transference of aspiration from the first to the second syllable.

In *tatsuma* or *ardha-tatsuma* words **-b** may represent Sanskrit *-v*, e.g., **parbix** < *parvan* 'festival'.

In foreign loan-words and in *deśi* words Aw. **b** represents foreign *b*.

### **bṣ (ḍḥ)**

§ 54. Initial **bṣ-** represents MIA *ḍḥ-* derived from OIA

(i) *ḍḥ- bhikṣā* > **bṣikḥ** 'alms', *ḍḥūmi* : **bṣuī** 'ground'

(ii) *ḍḥr- dhṛātṛ-* > **bṣariz** 'brother', *ḍḥrāṣṭra-* > **bṣarṭhar** 'kiln'

(iii) *-bhy- abhyantara* > **bṣitar** 'within'.

In **bṣaṭsar** (Skt. *mahiṣa-*) 'buffalo' and **bṣeṣiz** (Skt. *māḍhṛa-*) 'sheep', **bṣ-** is possibly derived from *m* through the transposition of *-h-* (Chatterji, p. 515). Another suggestion is that these words might be *deśi* in origin.

Medial and final **bṣ-** represents MIA

(i) *-bbḥ- gaḍḍhiṇi* > **garbhini** 'pregnant', *jibbḥā* > **jizbṣ** 'tongue'

(ii) *-bbḥ- after m kumbhāra-* > **kūbbṣar** 'potter'

(iii) *-mḥ bāmhaṇa* > **bāzbṣan** 'Brahmin' (beside **barṃṣan**).

**bṣ** occurs in several *deśi* words, e.g., **bṣirr** 'crowd', **bṣabbṣar** 'agitation'.

### **Nasals**

#### **A. EARLY AWADHI**

§ 55. Out of the five nasals, *ṇ* and *ṇ* are found always in the middle of a word before a mute of their own class.

**n** occurs medially, both intervocally and before a mute of its class, **n** and **m** occur in all positions. For instance :

**n** *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornaments' (T. 141).

**n** *nindakt* '(they) blame' (T. 191), *āna* 'another' (T. 190), *kāṇha* 'did' (T. 191), *dēotanha* 'gods' (J. 495), *nhāi* 'having taken a bath' (T. 223).

**m** *māhura* 'poison' (T. 222), *amīa* 'nectar' (T. 231), *tumha* 'you' (T. 227).

**m** always represents one of the five nasals before the mutes of its class, e.g.,

*mamgala* 'auspiciousness' (T. 198), *pumja* 'heap' (T. 198), *damḍavata* 'obeisance' (T. 199), *sumdari* 'the Beauty' (J. 488), *sammata* 'agreed' (T. 223).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

### m

§ 56. The sound **m** is the voiced bi-labial nasal. It can occur initially as in *maṣṣinax* 'month', *meṣṣeruaṣ* 'woman', medially as in *lambaṣ* 'long, tall', *seṣmi* 'French beans', or finally as in *cilaṣ* 'a sort of smoking-pipe made of clay', *moṣm* 'wax'.

### n

§ 57. The sound **n** is the voiced alveolar nasal. It may be noted, however, that the tip of the tongue while touching the gums touches the teeth also (See Pal. 7).

It can occur initially as in *neuraṣ* 'mongoose', *naṣt* 'relative', medially either singly as in *baṇaṣwab* 'to make', *maṇaṣnaṣ* a palanquin', *kaṇaṣaṣ* 'the corners of a kite' or before a plosive of its class or before **s** as in *bunḍaṣ* 'earrings', *paṇṭhiṣ* 'a posture of sitting with feet on the thighs', *baṇsiṣ* 'flute'; before a plosive of another class in compound words as in *kaṇpaṭiṣ* 'temples of cheeks', *kaṇṭoṣp* 'a head-gear covering the ears also', *kaṇkaṇiṣaṣ* 'a kite', *kaṇchedonaṣ* 'the ceremony of piercing the ears', and finally as in *loṇn* 'salt', *saṇn* 'beckoning'.

## ŋ

§ 58. The sound **ŋ** is the voiced retroflex nasal but is pronounced a little more forward as compared to the plosives **ʈ**, **ɖ** (See Pal. 8). It can occur only medially and there too only before a retroflex plosive, e.g., in **baŋʈardfiar** 'utter ruin', **maŋʈar** 'whey', **maŋɖir** 'grain market', **ʈhaŋɖi** 'cool'.

## ŋ

§ 59. The sound **ŋ** is the voiced velar nasal (See Pal. 9). It can occur medially and only before a velar plosive, e.g., **saŋkar** 'Lord Śiva', **saŋkh** 'conch-shell', **phaŋgar** 'persevering entreaty', **saŋgfiatir** 'companion'.

## ɲ

§ 60. The sound **ɲ** is the voiced palatal nasal but is pronounced a little more forward as compared to **c**, **ɟ** (See Pal. 10). It can occur only medially and there too immediately before affricate consonants, e.g., in **khonɲar** 'a dish of sweets', **tamaɲɲar** 'pistol', **paɲɲar** 'features', **paɲɲar** 'paw', **saɲɲiar** 'evening'.

## mʱ

§ 61. The sound **mʱ** is the aspirated form of **m** and occurs only medially, e.g. **baɾemʱiar** 'Brahmā'.

## nʱ

§ 62. The sound **nʱ** is the aspirated form of **n** and occurs only medially, e.g., **kaŋʱaijɛr** 'Kṛṣṇa'.

## General Notes on Nasals

§ 63. Awadhi possesses only two nasals **m** and **n** which are found in various positions in a word and are separate phonemes. The other three **ŋ** **ɲ** **ɲ** are found only medially and before the consonants of their class. They come under **n** phoneme. The palatograms show that **ŋ** and **ɲ** are spoken a little forward as compared to **ʈ** and **c** respectively

and that the positions of  $\eta$  and  $\tilde{\eta}$  are not very different. The aspirated forms of the nasals (i.e.,  $n\tilde{h}$ ,  $m\tilde{h}$ ) are not closely united — they are disintegrated sounds.

A nasal before a plosive is longer than otherwise. For instance, compare the length of **sunti** and **sunī** (Inscs. 13 and 14).

A nasal nasalises the previous vowel always, e.g., in **saṅkh** (Insc. 15) and also the following vowel, e.g., in **sunī** and **maṇi** (Insc. 14 and 46). It nasalises the following voiced consonants, e.g., in **baṇḍax** (Insc. 16), but does not nasalise a breathed consonant (See **baṇṭax**, Insc. 17).

NOTE.—A Nasal has become unvoiced in the middle of a sentence expressing the sense of imperative and wonder (Vide Charts 3 and 5).

## C. ORIGIN

### **n and nḥ**

§ 64. Initial **n-** is derived from OIA

- (i) **n-** > MIA  $\tilde{n}$  (except in Paisāci and Pāli), e.g., **nakṣatra-** > **nakhat** 'star', **nemi** > **niu** 'foundation'
- (ii) **jñ-** >  $\tilde{n}$  in Pāli, Māgadhī and Paisāci but  $\tilde{n}$  in other Prakrits, e.g., **jñāti-** > **nai-ñar** 'a married woman's father's house'
- (iii) **sn-** >  $\tilde{n}h$  in MIA and later separated by anaptyxis, e.g., **snā-** > **nañax-b** 'to bathe'.

Medially and finally **-n** is derived from OIA

- (i) **-jñ-** > MIA **-ññ-** (Pāli, Paisā. and Māg. **-ññ-**) e.g., **viññapti-** > **bintiz** 'prayer'
- (ii) **-ñ-** ✓ **gañ-** > **ganab** 'to count,' ✓ **śṛṇu-** > **sunab** 'to hear'
- (iii) **-ñy-** > MIA **-ññ-** e.g., **puṇya** > **punni** 'merit'
- (iv) **-n-** e.g., **navanīta** > **nainuz** 'butter', **jñānīti** > **jainai** 'knows'.

- (v) -*nn-* *chinna-* > **chinari** 'a woman of loose character'
- (vi) -*ny-* e.g., *anya* > **ain** 'another', *mānya* : **marai** 'honoured relative'
- (vii) -*rn-* MIA -*ṛn-*, e.g., *karna* > **karn** 'ear', *varṇa-* > **barai** 'habit'
- (viii) -*m-* > MIA -*ṇh-*, e.g., *kṛṣṇa-* > Eastern Awadhi **kanḥaijāz** 'Kṛṣṇa'
- (ix) -*sn-* > MIA -*ṣh-*, e.g., *jyotsnā-* > East. Aw. **jonḥaijāz** 'moonlight'
- (x) -*hn-* > MIA -*ṇh-*, e.g., *cihna* > **cirni** 'a token'.

*N.B.*—In certain modern dialects of Awadhi **n** represents ancient **-nd-**, for which see the origin of **-d-** and **-dh-** §§ 49-50.

**n** is also found in words of *deśī* origin and in foreign loan-words.

In a few words **n** represents OIA **ṇ**, e.g., **naṛgḥab** : *laṅgh-* 'to cross', **noṛn** : *lavāṇa* 'salt', **nōgūlāz** : ? *lāṅgūla-* 'the only boy amongst the girls fed on the ninth day of Āśvin in honour of the Devī'; **arganiz** : *argalā-* 'a rope hung up for putting clothes on'.

### **m** and **mi**

§ 65. Initial **m** comes from MIA *m-* derived from OIA

- (i) *m-* *mātā-* : **maxiz** 'mother', *maśaka* : **maxax** 'mosquito', *madhu-makṣikā-* : **ma-markhi** 'bee'
- (ii) *mr-* *mrakṣaṇa* : **markhan** 'butter'
- (iii) *ma-* *maśru* : **mozch** 'whiskers'.

Medially and finally **-m-** comes from MIA *-mm-*, e.g., *sammukha-* : **samahez** 'in front', *ghamma* : **gharm** 'sun'.

In certain loan-words in the Western dialects, and in the Eastern dialects **-m** represents MIA *-m+* labial mute, e.g., **cuzmab** < *cumb-* 'to kiss'.

- m̐*- comes from *m*+labial plosive or -*m̐*- e.g.,  
*m* + -*bh*- *kum̐bhar* < *kumbha -dra* 'potter'  
 -*m̐*-, e.g., *bam̐kara* : *barm̐kan* 'Brahmin'.  
*m* occurs in *desi* words and in loan-words also.

### ṃ ṇ ṅ

§ 66. These three nasals are found in Awadhi before the mutes of their classes only and then also mostly in loan-words either from Sanskrit or foreign languages or in *desi* words. For examples see §§ 58—60.

### Old semi-vowels, Modern semi-vowels and Rolled, Flapped and Lateral consonants.

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 67. *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* occur initially as well as medially. For instance :

*y* *yaha* 'this' (J. 113), *pāyā* 'got' (J. 135).

In the manuscripts the symbol for *y* represents *j* also.

*r* *rākhā* 'kept' (J. 225), *nīarā* 'near' (J. 225).

*l* *lāhu* 'take' (J. 273), *hilagi* 'having got entangled' (J. 273).

*v* *raha* 'she' (J. 210), *kāṛṇī* 'loving woman' (J.)

In the manuscripts the symbols for *v* and *b* are often confused.

NOTE.—For Early Awadhi *ṛ*, *ṛḥ* see § 18.

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

### ṛ

§ 68. The sound *ṛ* is pronounced like *i*, only the more sonorous character of the following sound gives it a consonantal character (See Pal. 15). The tongue is very much in the position of *i* (short), the air-passage being a little narrower (Compare Pal. 17). It occurs in a few words initially as in *jaṛṇu* 'this'. Medially it occurs optionally



between two vowels and serves as glide from the less open to the more open vowel, *e.g.*, **piars** or **pijars** 'thirst', **dīatī** or **dījātī** 'a lamp-stand'.

### W

§ 69. The sound **w** is pronounced like **u**, only the more sonorous character of the following sound gives it a consonantal character. In pronouncing it the lower lip touches the upper lip slightly as also the lower teeth but there is no friction except possibly when it is in the initial position. The lip-rounding required for pronouncing this sound is much less than that for the corresponding English sound **w**.

It occurs initially in a few words, *e.g.*, in **wair** 'side', **wāflu** 'that', medially it occurs between two vowels and serves occasionally as glide from the less open to the more open back vowel, *e.g.*, **puwar** or **puar** 'a kind of cake', **soxwar** 'slept', **sawatī** 'co-wife', **gāwair** 'villager'.

NOTE 1.—**w** comes in place of **u** in certain cases of assimilation (See § 152).

NOTE 2.—In Bāghli, **-w-** is generally pronounced as **-b-**

### R

§ 70. The sound **r** is the rolled voiced alveolar consonant (See Pal. 11). In pronouncing it the tip of the tongue taps twice or thrice against the alveolar region above the teeth-ridge. It can occur initially as in **rōrwār** 'hair on the body', **rīxdāb** 'to cook', medially as in **beraxm** 'ill', **muraxur** 'green grocer', or finally as in **sambaxr** 'Monday', **camaxr** 'cobbler'.

**r** has an epenthetic vowel before it when it comes initially, *e.g.*, in **raxm se** (Insc. 18) a tiny vowel appears before **r**.

NOTE.—For the elision of intervocalic **-r-** in the Absolutive in the Eastern dialects see below Part II Chapter VI (Verbs).

## r

§ 71. The sound **r** is the voiced flapped retroflex consonant (see Pal. 12). The back of the tip of the tongue goes up and taps on the rough back above the gums. It can occur singly, and only medially, as in **ũr̥rix** 'bulb', **bñẽr̥rix** 'sheep', or finally, as in **gor̥r̥** 'feet', **hãr̥r̥** 'bones'.

The tapping is only once. As the palatogram shows, the contact is perceptibly higher than in the case of **r** but not so high as in the case of **ṛ**.

## rñ

§ 72. The sound **rñ** is the aspirated form of **r**. It can occur only medially as in **Arrñix** 'a kind of pulse', or finally as in **rixrñ** 'spinal cord'.

## rñ

§ 73. The sound **rñ** is the aspirated form of **r**. It can occur either medially as in **bar̥rñij** 'more', **sixrñix** 'steps', or finally as in **buxrñ** 'old', **kor̥rñ** 'leprosy'.

## l

§ 74. The sound **l** is the voiced alveolar lateral consonant (see Pal. 13). The tip of the tongue just touches the upper teeth and their root to block the passage and a slight hollow (less than in English **l**) is made, the air passes at the sides. It can occur initially as in **lur̥tab** 'to rob', **lõrdar** 'a lump', medially as in **kar̥lij** 'tomorrow', **phulauriz** 'a variety of scone', or finally as in **car̥l** 'trick', **amoxl** 'invaluable'.

NOTE.—**l** has a subsidiary phoneme before retroflex sounds.

## lñ

§ 75. The sound **lñ** is the aspirated form of **l**. It occurs only medially as in **palñar̥wab** 'to coax a cow to give milk'.

## C. ORIGIN

## j (y) and w (v)

§ 76. These sounds are found very seldom in Awadhi. In the initial position they are found in the pronouns **jaṣu**, **waṣu** which also have alternative forms. In the medial position they serve only as glides between two vowels. They do not occur finally except in some dialects where they stand for **i** and **u** respectively.

Sanskrit *y-* is represented in the initial position by **j** even in the MIA period, and in the medial position it was elided. Sanskrit initial *v-* is represented by **b-** in Awadhi and the medial one by **u** or **b**.

Initial *y-* of foreign words is represented by **i-** or zero in Awadhi (e.g., *yār* Pers.—'friend', Awadhi **iaxr**, *yād* Pers.—'memory', Aw. **aɪdɪ**, **akim** 'belief') and *v-*, *va-* generally by **u-** (e.g., Pers. *sakīl* : Aw. **ukizl**).

In a few words *-w-* medially represents OIA *-p-* (e.g., *sapatnī* : **sawatɪ** 'co-wife'), or with nasalisation it corresponds to OIA *-m-* (e.g., *gāwair* : **grāma-** 'villager').

## r

§ 77. Initially **r** represents MIA

**r-** coming from OIA *r-*, e.g., *rātri* : **rartɪ** 'night'.

Medially and finally **r** represents MIA

(i) **-r-** coming from OIA *-r-*, e.g., *apara* : **Aur** 'another', *kēdārikā* : **kejarrɪz** 'a bed in a garden', *carma-kāra* : **camair** 'cobbler'.

**-r-** coming from OIA *-t-*, *-d-* in the numerals, e.g., *saptati* : **satɪarɪ** 'seventy', *dvādata* : **barrax** 'twelve', *saptadata* : **satɪarax** 'seventeen'.

(ii) **-l-** coming from OIA *-l-*, e.g., *ālasya-* : **aɪrasɪ** 'lethargy', *prapā-tālā* : **pausarax** 'a place for supplying water', *phalati* : **phareɪ** 'bears fruit',

*phalaka* : *pharraz* 'plank of wood', *musala* : *muṣṣarṣ* 'pestle', *viḍāla*—: *bilaxriz* 'cat'.

NOTE.—Braj and Bhōjpuri agree with Awadhī, Hindustānī retains *-ḷ*.

(iii) *-ḍ* coming from OIA *-ḷ*, e. g., *kaṣu* : *karuz* 'bitter', *kiṣa* : *kirawaz* 'insect', *viṣapa* : *birawaz* 'tree', *puṣa* : *purijaz* 'anything wrapped with paper or leaves'.

NOTE.—Braj and Bhōjpuri agree with Awadhī, Hindustānī represents OIA. *-ḷ* by *-ṛ*.

In *ardhatasama* words, Sanskrit *-r* + consonant is represented in Awadhī by the process of epenthesis, e.g., *dharma* : *dhararam* 'religion', *samartha* : *samarath* 'powerful'.

Evidence of such an epenthesis in earlier stages is found from Skt. *ādarṭa* : Aw. *axrasiz* 'an ornament, containing a mirror, worn on the wrist'.

Intervocal *-r-* is dropped out in certain forms of the verb (see Part II, Chap. VI).

*r* appears in *deśi* words in all positions, and medially and finally it sometimes corresponds with Hindustānī *-ṛ*, e. g., *razri* 'quarrel', *thaparaz* (Hin. *thapraz*) 'slap', *kuzraz* (Hin. *kurraz*) 'rubbish'.

*r* appears in foreign loan-words also.

## rh

§ 78. This sound occurs only in what appear to be *deśi* words (see § 88).

## ṛ (r)

§ 79. Awadhī *ṛ* which occurs only medially or finally represents MIA

*-ḍḍ* *uḍḍi* > *uṛai*, 'flies',

*-ḍ* after *ṇ*-, in cases where the nasal survives only as nasalisation, e.g., *aṇḍa* > *āṛiz* 'the bulb of a fruit', *ḍaṇḍa* > *ḍāṛz* 'oar'.

ɽ occurs in many *deśi* words also, e.g., **goɽ** 'foot'.

### ɽñ (*ḍh*)

§ 80. Awadhī ɽñ occurs only medially or finally and represents MIA

-ḍḍh- *vaḍḍhai* > **baɽɽñai** 'increases', *saḍḍha* + - > **saɽɽñer** 'and half', *vuḍḍha* - > **buzɽñ** 'aged'.

Where -ɽñ represents -ḍh of the Prakrits, the words are certainly loan-words from other dialects, e.g., **paɽñai** < *paḍhai* 'reads', **gaɽñ** < *gāḍha* 'thick'.

### l

§ 81. Initial l- represents MIA

l- coming from OIA, e.g., *lakṣa* : **laɽkh** 'a lac', *lajjā* : **laɽɟ** 'shame, modesty'. In **laɽṭhi** 'stick' it represents OIA *y-* (*yasti*).

Medial and final -l represents MIA

(a) -ll- coming from OIA

(i) -dr- *bhadra-* : **bhalax** 'good'.

(ii) -r- *prerayati* : **perlai** (Pkt. *pellai*) 'enters by force'.

(iii) -ry- *paryāṅka-* : **palkax** 'bedstead'.

(iv) -ly- *kalya-* : **kaxlñi** 'yesterday or tomorrow'.

(v) -ll- *vallī-* : **baɽlir** 'the ear of the maize plant'.

(vi) -lv- *bilva* : **berl** 'a particular tree'.

(b) Medial -l- in numerals corresponds to MIA, OIA -r- in figures 'forty' and in those based on it, e.g., *cātvarīmśat* : **caɽlis** 'forty'.

In **laɽ-** 'to lose', l- would represent n- if the word be derived from *naṣṭa-* (Chatterji, p. 545) the loss of aspiration being a difficulty.

Medial **-l-** also corresponds to MIA *l*, { derived from OIA *-l-*, e.g., *vidāla-* : **bilazrix** 'cat'.

*l* occurs in *dāśi* and foreign loan-words also.

### III

§ 82. This sound occurs only in what appear to be *dāśi* words and from OIA *hl-*, e.g., *prahlādayati* > **palbazwai** 'coaxes to give milk' (see § 88).

### Sibilants and Aspirate

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 83. Of the three sibilants, *s* is the normal one. But *ś* also is found particularly in *Tulsīdās* and in *Lāldās*. In the latter it sometimes replaces *s* which possibly shows either that *ś* and *s* both represented the sound *s* or there is ultra-Sanskritisation of *s* into *ś*. The symbol for *ś* occurs to represent *kh* both in *Tulsīdās* and *Lāldās*. It is hardly possible that *ś* existed as a sound.

*ś* *śrutikīrti* 'name of Shatrughna's wife' (T. 139), *krāpa* 'curse' (T. 93), *dāśa* 'country' (Lāl.), *śo* 'that' (Lāl.).

*s* *vasiṣṭha* 'Vasiṣṭha' (T. 139), *bhūṣana* 'ornament' (T. 138), *varasukt* 'rain' (T. 139), *laṣana* 'Lakṣmana' (T. 192), *bisēṣi* 'particularly' (T. 219); *śabari* 'news' (Lāl.), *dāṣi* 'having seen' (Lāl.).

*s* *suā* 'parrot' (J. 113), *jaīsa* 'as' (J. 113), *saguna* 'omen' (T. 295), *bisāla* 'big' (T. 294), *śo* 'that' (T. 295).

### Aspirate

*h* *hāi* 'is' (J. 160), *moḥr* 'me' (J. 160), *hāhi* 'taken' (J. 160).<sup>1</sup>

*h* occurs in *Tulsīdās* and *Lāldās* in *tatsama* words only, e.g., *jūthah* 'the herd' (T. 295), *niḥkāmi* 'devoid of desires' (Lāl), cf. *niha kalamka* 'spotless' (J. 24).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 84. The sound **s** is the breathed alveolar fricative consonant (see Pal. 14). The tip of the tongue touches the upper teeth also. It differs from English **s** in having less friction. It can occur initially as in **soɪɾaʃi** 'sixteen', **sɔ̃ɾti** 'free', medially as in **kaɪab** 'to tighten', **paɪijaɾ** 'watchman', or finally as in **paɪaɪs** 'fifty', **ʈhoɪs** 'solid'.

The sound has no tendency to become voiced in intervocalic position. Final **s** is less pronounced than a plosive.

**h**

§ 85. The sound **h** is what has been defined as 'Breathed Glottal Fricative'. It 'is the sound of pure breath having a free passage through the mouth.' In a word it can occur initially as in **ham** 'we' (see Insc. 47), **huāɾ** 'there'.

It should be noted that the aspirated forms of breathed plosives and affricate contain this sound as their second element (See Inscs. 7, 8, 15).

**ɦ**

§ 86. The sound **ɦ** is the voiced variety of **h**, and occurs intervocally as in **kaɦāɾ** 'where', **liɦeā** 'I took', or finally as in **saɦi** 'banker', **dɔ̃ɦi** 'body'. In the final position, however, the sound finishes with absence of voice, e.g., in **saɦi**, **ɦ** is **ɦ-h** (see Insc. 20).

It should be noted that the voiced aspirated plosives, affricate, nasals, rolled, flapped and lateral consonants contain this sound as their second element. This second element tends to be voiceless before whispered vowels, e.g., **duɾdɦi** tends to become **duɾdɦɪ** (see Insc. 19).

## C. ORIGIN

**s**

§ 87. The dental sibilant is the only one in Awadhi as in Braj and Bhōjpuri and represents OIA *s*, *ś* and *ṣ*

singly as well as in some combinations, through MIA s or -ss-.

s represents MIA. s, -ss- derived from OIA.

- (i) s- *sapatāi* : **sawati** 'rival, co-wife', *saktu-* : **setuaz** 'barley-flour', *svāsa* : **sāsa** 'breath', *vas-* : **basab** 'to reside'.
- (ii) s- *śṛṅga* : **śiṅg** 'horn', *śuṇḍā-* : **sūṛij** 'trunk', *āśā* : **as** 'hope', *maśaka-* : **maśaz** 'mosquito'.
- (iii) s- *ṣoḍaśa* : **soṛaz** 'sixteen', *maśiṣ* : **bḥaṭṣij** 'the buffalo'.
- (iv) -sin- -vismṛ- : **bisatrab** 'forget'.
- (v) -sy- *ālasya* : **asras** 'indolence'.
- (vi) -sr- *śrotas-* : **soṛt** 'stream'.
- (vii) -sv- *śudmi-* : **saiṭi** 'a saint', *svara* : **sur** 'tune'.
- (viii) śm- *raśmi-* : **rasariz** 'string'.
- (ix) *śyāmāka* : **sāiwaz** 'a wild rice', *śyāla* : **sair** 'wife's brother'.
- (x) śr- *śrāvāṇa*, : **saiwan** 'the month of *śrāvāṇa*', *āśru-* : **āisur** 'tear'.
- (xi) sv- *svāsa* : **sāsa** 'breath', *svasura* : **sasur** 'father-in-law'.
- (xii) rś- *parśu-* : **pasuriz** 'rib'.
- (xiii) rṣ- *karṣati* : **kasai** 'pulls'.
- (xiv) sy- *puṣya* : **puz** 'the month *puṣya*', *ruṣyati* : **ruisai** 'gets angry'.

NOTE.—In the group r and sibilant, epenthesis is witnessed very often, *darśana* : **daṛosan** 'holy sight', *varṣ-* : **barsab** 'to rain'.

s̄ and s of foreign words are always represented by s in Awadhi.



**.h, ṣ**

§ 88. Initial **h-** is derived from MIA **h-** which comes from OIA

- (i) **h-** *hasṭa* : **hāṣṭh** 'hand', *hāridrā* : **hardiz** 'turmeric'.  
 (ii) **bh-** in the case of root *bhū-* which is already in the Prakrite found as *ho-*, Aw. *hozi* 'be' etc.; also in *bāzṛiz* 'a vessel' < *bhāṇḍa-*, Aw. has **bhāzṛaz** 'treasure', also.

In the pronoun *ham* 'we' and its derivations, we find a development of *-sm-* into **h**, through *-mā-* in the Prakrite and in *hai*, *aṣṣi*, *aṣṣai* we find **h** coming from *-st-* through *-tth-* *th*, possibly.<sup>1</sup>

Medial or final **-ṣ** comes from MIA *-ṣ* which is derived from OIA

- (i) *-ṣ-* *lauhakāra* : **lohazṛ** 'blacksmith', *phalāhāra* : **phareṣṣaz** 'fruit-diet'.  
 (ii) *-kh-* *mukha* : **muh** 'mouth', *nakha* : **naṣṣi** 'nail', *ākheṣa* : **aṣṣezṛ** 'prey', *śikhā-* : **siṣṣazb** 'to feel puffed up'.  
 (iii) *-gh-* *māgha* : **maṣṣi** 'the month of Māgha', *megha-* : **meṣṣazb** 'to get wet', *araghaṣṭa-* : **rāṣṣaṭaz** 'spindle', *laghu-* : **laṣṣuraz** 'younger', *stāgha* : **thaṣṣi** 'bottom', *saghana* : **saṣṣan** 'thick'.  
 (iv) *-th-* *kath-* : **kaṣṣab** 'to say'.  
 (v) *-dh-* *avidhavā-tva* : **auṣṣazt**, 'non-widowhood', *dadhi-* : **daṣṣiu** 'curds', *putra-vadhū* : **paṭozṣi** 'daughter-in-law', *madhūka-* **mahuaz** 'a particular tree'.  
 (vi) *-bh-* *gabhira* : **gaṣṣir** 'deep', *nibhālayati* : **nihazṛai** 'sees closely', *pratyaḥhiṣṇānāti* : **paṣṣicaznai** 'recognises', *lobh-* : **soṣṣazb** 'to appear agreeable'.

<sup>1</sup> See § 202.

In the numerals *ā* represents 1 (*goiraā* — 'eleven') and *ē* (*ekēṣṭāṭīarī* — 'seventy-one'). This is attested by the Prakrits (see Bloch : *Langue Marathe* § 160). Similarly *ā* of the pronoun *ēṣu* 'this' goes back to OIA *ē*.

In the forms of the Future verb *-ā-* represents OIA *-ay-* > MIA *-so-* and later *-ā-*.

OIA sibilant + nasal which is represented in MIA as *nasal + ā* is separated by an epenthetic vowel, e.g., *anā-* : *ṇā-* : *naṇāx-* or even *haṇāx-* by metathesis.

*mā* and *nā* occur in a few *ardhatatsama* words.

Similarly *lā-* comes from OIA *-āl-* in *palṇāxwāb* < *prahlād-* 'to please, to coax'.

Aw. *rā* represents Hindustānī *ṛā* mostly in obscure words, e.g., *riṛā* : Hin. *riṛā* 'backbone', the origin of, *arīṛīx* 'kind of pulse' is obscure.

*-ā-* appears to mark hiatus in *-āṇi* besides *-ai*, an affix of Present Tense 3rd pers. sing. < *ati* (compare Bloch : *Langue Marathe* § 161). In *diznā* < MIA *diṇṇa*, the advent of *ā* is obscure.

The treatment of *-st* of loan-words as *ṣāṭx* - has been noticed below (§132.)

*h, -ā* is found in *Dēśī* words and in loan-words from foreign languages.

### Simple Vowels

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 89. The vowels are found in all the positions—initial, medial and final—in a word. For instance :

*a* *ambrīṭa-bēṭi* 'nectar-creeper' (J. 52), *kadama* 'kadamba' (J. 53).

*ā* *āchāṭ* 'are' (J. 53), *pāsā* 'sides' (J. 53).

*i* *ihai* 'this' (J. 286), *dījia* 'please give' (J. 286), *tehi* 'him' (J. 286).

*ī* *īsa* 'lord' (T. 86), *ṣya* 'woman' (T. 106), *ḥajāṣ* 'beat (the drum)' (T. 107)

- u *ufhai* 'gets up' (T. 107), *suḥāi* 'beautiful' (T. 107),  
*haru* 'remove' (T. 107).
- ū *ūpara* 'above' (J. 61), *ṣūṭa* 'broke', (T. 116), *kāū*  
 'ever' (T. 188).
- r occurs only in *tatsama* words and is mostly represented by *rī* :  
*kṛpā* 'favour' (T. 293), *vṛitti* 'livelihood' (Lāl),  
*rīṣi* 'sage' (T. 39), *rīṣi* 'sage' (Lāl.)
- e The symbol for short *e* is the same in the manuscripts as well as in the printed books as for the long *ē*, only Grierson's edition of the *Padmāvat* has a different symbol. But the existence of *e* is attested by metrical compositions in all the texts—a long *ē* would disturb the metre :  
*eḥi* 'this' (T. 160) *jeḥi* 'whomever' (T. 115),  
*bhae* 'having become' (J. 58).
- ē *ēkaḥi* 'one only' (T. 170), *dēkhu* 'see' (T. 170),  
*sānē* 'mixed' (T. 207).
- o Like *e*, the existence of *o* (as different from *ō*) is inferred from metres; it is found with the symbol in the *Padmāvat* only :  
*ohī* 'the same', (J. 171), *sohāḥi* 'appeal' (T. 171).
- ō *ōḥi* 'to him' (T. 332), *ḍhōla* 'drum' (T. 366).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

### ix

§ 90. The sound *ix* is the Close Front Vowel, a little more open than Cardinal No. I (see Pal. 16). The lip-spreading also is less tense than in the Cardinal Vowel.

It can occur initially as in *ixṛfiix* 'stubborn', medially as in *piṛseū* 'I ground', *bix* 'twenty' or finally in a word as in *pathorix* 'stone', *cailix* 'fuel-sticks'.

## i

§ 91. The sound **i** is just like English short **i** (*it, pit* etc.) and is pronounced with much less muscular tension than **ix**. The air passage is freer as the tongue does not rise so high. It has been defined as 'Close Front lax unrounded vowel' (see Pal. 17).

It occurs initially, e.g., in **iterarb** 'to be priggish', **ilratj** 'botheration' medially as in **pilowax** 'pup', **mircax** 'chillies' or finally in a word, e.g., in **pori** 'a variety of vegetable', **jari** 'may go'.

## e

§ 92. The sound **e** is like the English sound **e** in *get, bet, pen*, etc. It differs from **i** in being more open and lax. It is very short in quantity as compared to **ex** and is more open also and thus does not give a palatogram.

It occurs initially as in **etxax** 'so much', **eujix** 'officialing', medially as in **dehhibax** 'shall see', **liffeū** 'I took', or finally as in **se, ke**.

## ex

§ 93. The sound **ex** is Half-close Front Vowel pronounced like Cardinal Vowel No. 2 (see Pal. 18). It occurs initially as in **exkax** 'unity', **exraxpexrix** 'mutual exchange', medially as in **khexlab** 'to play', **dhexlax** 'half a pice' or finally as in **parchex** 'behind', **maxthex** 'on the forehead'.

## ax

§ 94. The sound **ax** is the Back Open vowel. The lips are wide apart and the tongue rests low with a slight rise in the back. It approximates, in quality, to Cardinal Vowel No. 5 and resembles the *a* of *father* in American pronunciation.

It occurs initially as in **axkhat** 'grains of rice given to menials on ceremonial occasions', **axdir** 'ginger',

medially as in **chedarm** 'one-fourth of a pice', **baria** 'twenty-two', or finally in a word as in **ghorǝar** 'horse', **rafiar** 'remained'.

## ■

§ 95. The sound **ʌ** is the Half-open Central Vowel. In pronouncing it the tongue rises up, in almost the central position. It can occur initially as in **arsix** 'linseed', **akarɪ** 'famine' or medially as in **ǝab** 'when', **das** 'ten'.

This sound is a little longer in open syllables than in closed ones and there tends somewhat towards the back and becomes slightly more open. The **ʌ** of **akarɪ** is such, for instance. In a closed syllable before **r**, it has a slight shade of **ə**<sup>1</sup> as in **arsix**.

## ■

§ 96. The sound **ə** is similar in quality to **ʌ** but the tongue in this case is a little more raised and slightly more lax.

It occurs medially or finally and in unstressed syllables. It is at the end of a syllable and never begins a syllable. It is very short in quantity, e.g., in **ram ke** 'to Ram', **sorɛhɪ** 'a game with sixteen Cowries'.

This vowel has a tendency to disappear, what remains is merely the explosion of the previous consonant, e.g., **mafiarɪ** is sometimes heard as **mahtarɪ** (mother) or **apɛnar** is heard as **apnar**.

## or

§ 97. The sound **ɔ** is the Half-close Back Vowel, the same as Cardinal Vowel No. 7. It occurs initially in a few words as in **ɔs** 'dew', **ɔp** 'secret' or medially as in **barɔɪh** 'the middle hall', **caɔɪr** 'greedy' or rarely finally as in **hɔɪ** 'O'.

<sup>1</sup> The vowel which is found before **r** in such words as 'bird' (bed)

## o

§ 98. The sound **o** is similar to **oz** in quality but is slightly more open and removed a little towards the centre. The back of the tongue rises a little less than in the case of **oz**.

It occurs initially as in **osoriz** 'turn', **oinaz** 'yarn-hump' or medially as in **bšorehōz** in the morning', **dosorazi ko** 'a second time'.

## uz

§ 99. The sound **uz** is the Close Back Vowel just as the Cardinal Vowel No. 8. In pronouncing it, however, the rounding and the protrusion of lips as well as the tension is less than in the ordinary Cardinal.

It occurs initially as in **urbab** 'to be bored' **uizar** 'untilled land', medially as in **duxdi** 'milk' **bandurkb** 'gun', or finally in a word as in **nazuz** 'barber', **karuz** 'bitter'.

## u

§ 100. The sound **u** is similar in quality to **uz** but here the tongue position is a little lower and there is a slight rise towards the centre. It is also less tense than **uz**.

It occurs initially as in **ukilazb** 'to vomit', **ubošianj** 'a rope for drawing water from the well', or medially as in **kutijaz** 'bitch', **sukhajeū** 'I dried' or finally as in **azu** 'come', **kheru** 'paddle the oars'.

## General notes on the vowels

§ 101. The length of a vowel is not fixed but generally speaking, on an average a short vowel has half the length of the corresponding long vowel in the same position (circumstances) in a sentence normally spoken. For instance **-a-** in **baɣaz** has a duration of 0.094 sec. as compared to **-az-** of **razjaz** which has 0.187 sec. (Insc. 31).

The length of the same vowel varies very much. The average length of **ix** may be 40 mm. and of **i** 14; **ox** may be 43 mm. and **o** only 14; **ax** may vary in individual words from 50 mm. to 25 mm. while **a** may from 14 to 22 mm. Thus **a** of 22 mm. is short and **ax** of 25 mm. is long only by a convention which has its support from the feeling of the average speaker. For comparative lengths of the vowels, see Inscs. of **sīxcab** and **sīcibax** (32 and 12), **derkhab** and **dekhībax** (4 and 33), **caṛṭatj** and **caṭibax** (34 and 11), **sōrcatj** and **sōcibax** (35 and 36) and **phūrkab** and **phūkibax** (1 and 37).

The nasalised vowel is a little longer than the corresponding unnasalised vowel. For instance, compare **ĩ** of **sīcibax** with **i** of **caṭibax** (Inscs. 12 and 11).

The long vowel which begins a word is generally longer than the final long, e.g., compare the length of **ox** in **erik** with that of **ex** in **baxex** (Insc. 31).

Two short vowels coming together are generally of the same length as a long vowel, e.g., compare the lengths of the vowels in **derkhau**, **ārt** and **iu** (Inscs. 38, 39 and 40).

The length of the same vowel in the same position is greater in monosyllabic words than in dissyllabic words.

The length of vowels is maintained except when a vowel occurs in a syllable which is more than two syllables away from the end. In Awadhī length is material for determining metre of verse but is free and immaterial in songs. For instance in

**soṛwau ki jaṛgau morix aṛdhi bhāwainix jagat kerix rarnix** (Insc. 48) the shorts and longs are not distinguishable.

§ 102. The dialects differ in the pronunciation of **e**, **ex** **o**, **ox**. In a specimen 12 miles south of Gonda town **ex** is pronounced as **jax** and **ox** as **wax** but not so pronouncedly as in Baiswārā. In Sitapur **ex** is **ex** and **ox** is **ox** but when one moves southwards, only six miles south

of the town **ex** is found as **jax** and **ox** as **wax**. Unao district has everywhere this pronunciation. In Fatehpur district on the borders of Cawnpore district **ex** is pronounced as **jax** and **ox** as **wax**. It appears that in the area where this different pronunciation for **e**, **ex**, **o** and **ox** (as **ja**, **jax**, **wa**, **wax** respectively) exists, the start was from **e** and **o** but in the latter part of the sound there came about more opening of the mouth which resulted in diphthongs **ea**, **ear**, **oa**, **oar** which later gave **ja**, **jax**, **wa**, **wax**. Why these vowels came to be turned into diphthongs is hard to explain. But the area in which this peculiarity of pronunciation exists is considerable.

In Western Awadhī **bolaxwab** and Eastern Awadhī **balaxwab** 'to cull' an alternation of **o**:**a** is found, in this respect Chhattisgarhī agrees with Eastern Awadhī. Similar dialectal difference is found in Western **banaxwab** and Eastern **banawb**.

### C. ORIGIN

#### A (a)

§ 103. Awadhī A represents

- (i) OIA *a*, MIA *a*, e.g., *anika* > **Anix** 'crisis', *avelā* > **Abezr** 'delay', *aṅguṭha-* > **Āguṭhar** 'thumb', *antara-* > **Ātarax** 'gap'; *ālasya-* > **axrasū** 'sloth', *araghaṭṭa* > **rĀḥiḷṭax** 'spinning-wheel', *bhaginī* > **baḥinī** 'sister', *nakṣatra* > **nakhat** 'star'.
- (ii) OĪA *ā*, MIA *ā*, e.g., *ā-toḍ-* **Arōzrab** 'to stir up the grain in the winnowing basket', *ā-cām-* > **Ācawab** 'to rinse the mouth', *āsāḍha* > **Asazṛfi** 'the month *Āsāḍha*', *vātāvali* > **baḥarī** 'air', *vātākula-* > **baurax** 'dumb'.

NOTE.—In such instances the old *a* was either in an unaccented syllable, or if it was otherwise, later it was shortened in Awadhī if it was more than two syllables away from the end (see § 76).



(iii) In a few cases -A- is due to anaptyxis, e.g., **ra**kat 'blood', **bhāga**t 'devotee'.

(iv) In the following instances -A- represents MIA -a- but OIA -u- or -ṛ- *makula* > *maula* > **ba**ur 'blossoms of the mango-tree', *makaḥ* > *mawḥa* > **ma**ur 'crown (of the bride-groom)', *guru* > *garur* > **ga**ruṛ 'heavy', *kṛṇa* > **kā**ḍhāijar 'Krishna' *kṛ* > **ka**r- 'to do'.

(v) In **na**riar < *nārikela* 'cocoa-nut' A represents -e- (possibly through -ya-) and in **ba**ḥezar < *bibhitaka* (Chatterji, p. 403) it represents -i-.

In foreign loan-words A generally represents a and ā in the manner of (i), (ii) and (iii), e.g., **a**ragṛ '—water (e.g., rose-water)' **a**razm 'rest', **a**pjard 'estimate'. In a few cases it represents other vowels as well, e.g., **a**sturaz 'razor', **a**hisazṛp 'gratefulness for some kind act', **a**tibazṛp 'faith'.

A does not occur finally in Awadhī in modern dialects. It is found in early Awadhī in the documents but the probability is that it was never actually pronounced even then (cf. Bloch : *Langue Murathe* § 38).

### az (ā)

§104. Awadhī non-final **az** represents

(i) OIA ā > MIA ā (before a single consonant) and a (before a conjunction of consonants either the same or different), e.g., *āma*- > **ā**ru 'mucus', *ālaya*- > **a**irṇ 'a niche in the wall to put sundry articles', *ārya*- > **a**rjaj 'grandfather', *ārdrikā* > **a**rdiz 'ginger'; *ṣṛgāla* > **si**jazr 'jackal', *nidhāl*- > **ni**ḥazrab 'to see closely', *santāp*- > **sa**ta:rwab 'to oppress', *sārtha*- > **sa**rthṇ 'company', *brāhmana* > **ba**zmḥān 'Brahmin'.

(ii) OIA a, MIA a followed by a conjunction of consonants which was simplified in Awadhī and

resulted in a compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel. The long vowel survives only if it is in the final or penultimate syllable of a word, otherwise it becomes -A-, e.g., *aṅka* > **āṅk** 'number', *aṅga* > **aṅ** 'another', *aṅḡa* > **āṅḡiṛ** 'the bulk of a root', *vyāghra* > **baṅḡiṛ** 'tiger' but *baṅḡawar*, *nāpita* > **naṛuz** 'barber' but **naṭuwar**.

- (iii) MIA *āā* or *āa* or *āā*, with or without the glides *y* and *ṛ*, derived from OIA by the loss of intervocalic consonants, e.g., *kumbhakāra* > **kumḡar**, *varayātrā* > **barazt** 'bridegroom's party', *rājaputra* > **raṛut** 'a particular caste', *dīpāvalī* > **dewarriṛ** 'the Diwālī festival'; *koṭhāgāra* > **koṭḡar** 'a zamindar's village-residence'.

Awadhi final -**az** is the result of contraction of vowels:

- (i) MIA -*au* derived from earlier MIA -*āṭ* coming from OIA by the elision of the intervocalic consonant or from -*aṃ* or -*as* by levelling out the neuter forms, e.g., *canakāḥ* > **canaz** 'gram', *āmalakāḥ* > **āṇraz** 'myrobalan', *gataḥ* > **gaz** 'went'; Pāli *poṭṭhakam* > **poṭḡaz** 'a book'.
- (ii) MIA -*āo* by the elision of intervocalic -*y*- of OIA or of other consonants, e.g., *anadhyañyuh* > **anḡḡaz** 'a holiday, interruption', *upādhyāyuh* > **oiḡḡaz** 'exorcist, snake-charmer', *cakra-rūkaḥ* > **caḡḡawaz** 'a particular bird'.
- (iii) MIA -*aḥa* < -*asu* < -*āśa* in numerals, e.g., *dvādaśa* > **barraz** 'twelve'.

**az** is found in foreign loan-words also and generally represents *ā* or *ah* of the foreign languages, e.g., **Arāzm** 'rest', **iṣṭāzm** 'stamp', **naṣaz** 'the effect of intoxicants'.

§ 105. Awadhī non-final *i*- represents

(i) MIA *i* derived from OIA *i* or *ṛ*, e.g., *indra -as-*? > **īdarsaz** 'a variety of cake', *itara-* > **itaraṛb** 'to be haughty', *bhaginī* > **baḥinī** 'sister', *ghṛtaṃ* > **ghiu** 'clarified butter', *hrdayam* > **hijaz** 'heart', *dadhi-* > **daḥiu** 'curds', *kapittha-* > **kaithaz** 'wood-apple', *kūḍya* > **kaie** 'of what sort?'

(ii) MIA *i* derived from OIA *i*, e.g., *bija-* > **biaz** 'seed', *dīpa-paṭṭikā* > **ḍiaṭṭi** 'lamp-stand', *piḍ-* > **pirarḇ** 'to pain (passive)', *tira-* > **tirarḇ** 'to come near', *siv-* > **sīab** 'to sow'.

NOTE.—In all these and in similar cases, the old *i* is either away from the last two syllables or has become short in Awadhī in roots on the model of other passive verbs (**karṭab**—'to cut'—active, —**kaṭab** 'to cut'—passive). In **gaḥir** < *gabhira* 'deep' and **aḥir** < *aḥira* 'Ahir', however, the shortening of the vowel remains unexplained.

(iii) In a few instances *-i-* is due to anaptyxis, e.g., *grahaṇa* > **giroḥan** 'eclipse'.

(iv) In the following instances *i* represents old *e*: *eṣo-* > \**āḥo* > **iu** 'this', *kedārikā* > **kijariz** 'a bed of plants', *biṭijaz* 'daughter' < *bēṭā*-son, *nemiḥ* > **niu**, 'foundation'.

(v) In **chin** < *kṣaṇa* 'moment', **pījaraṛ** < *pañjara-* 'cage', **kinokiz** < *kaṇikā* 'small grain', and **mircar** < *marica-* 'pepper', Awadhī *i* represents old *a*. Are these loan-words from other dialects? Similarly in the numerals **chijarlis** '46', **chiḥatrarī** '76', **chijarsiz** '86' old *a*- is represented by Awadhī *i*.

- (vi) In *ardha-tatama* words Awadhi **i** represents Sanskrit *-ya-*, e.g., **bithaz** < *vyathā* 'pain', **uddim** < *udyama* 'exertion' and in the beginning, it comes by prothesis, e.g., **istiriz** < *stṛi* 'wife'.

Awadhi final **-i** (i) represents

- (i) MIA **-i** derived from OIA **-i**, **-in**, e.g., **bhagini** > **bañini** 'sister', **śreṣṭhī** > **seṛṭhi** 'banker', **aggi** > **aigi** 'fire', \***gāvi** > **gazi** 'cow'

- (ii) **-ni** of old neut. pl. **-āni** > **āim** > **āi** > **-Ai**

- (iii) **-ex** in pl. masc. perfect participles, e.g., **largi** besides **largex**, **ṭhaxṛhi** besides **ṭhaxṛfex**, and in **kaxṛhi** 'tomorrow or yesterday' < *kalye*.

In a few instances final **-i** (i) is of modern origin and has been put in as a mark of feminine gender, e.g., **pāizai** 'manure' < *pāmsu*, Early Aw. **jari** 'root' < *jaṭā*, **bazi** 'gout' < *vāla*.

In foreign loan-words

- (i) **i** generally represents **i**, e.g., **iṛṛai** 'honour', **inaxm** 'reward'
- (ii) in a few words **i** represents **ī** or **e**, e.g., **isaxiz** 'Christian', **diṛaxt** 'country-side'
- (iii) **i** comes by prothesis in words such as **isṭaxm** 'stamp'.

NOTE.—**i** is found initially in very few words of indigenous origin, it is mostly in words of foreign origin.

### ix (i)

§ 106. Awadhi non-final **ix** represents

- (i) OIA **i**, MIA **i**, e.g., **mañjira-** > **māñjirax** 'a variety of cymbals', **viṇā** > **bixn** 'lute'
- (ii) MIA **i-**, OIA **i-** or **ṛ-** followed by a conjunction of consonants which results in a single consonant in Awadhi and gives a compensatory lengthening

to the preceding vowel, e.g., *indhanam* > **ĩdħan̥** 'fuel', *siktha* > **sir̥th** 'grain', *piṣṭa-* > **piṣṭhaz** 'powdered pulse', *ṛṣīcika-* > **bir̥chiz** 'scorpion'.

NOTE.—The long vowel survives only in the penultimate syllable, if it is in any anterior syllable, it again becomes short.

- (iii) MIA *ĩ + ĩ*, e.g., *sthitī-* > **ṭbir̥ṣṭaz** 'reliance', *ṭṛṣṭyā* > **ṭir̥ṣ** '3rd day'
- (iv) In **bir̥ṣṭaz** < *vitasti-* 'span', **sir̥l** < *śīṭala* 'cold', **bṛir̥ṣṭaz** < *abhyantara* 'inside', **ir̥** represents *i + a*, but all these are most probably borrowed words. In **bir̥ṣṭaz** *th* was expected for *t* and in **sir̥l** *r* for *l* (cf. Aw. *seraxb* 'to get cold'). **bṛir̥ṣṭaz** might be from \**bhintara* (*-ya-* > *i*) and not from *abhyantara*.

Final **ir̥** is the result of contraction of vowels:

- (i) *ĩ + ĩ*, e.g., future 3rd pers. sg. termination **-ir̥** (**karir̥** 'will do') < *īhi, aṣṭi* > **Asir̥** 'eighty'; *akṣīṇi* > **āṛkhir̥** 'eyes' (the *n* of the termination becoming weakened to *m*, ~ and then being lost) and other plur. dir. and obl. sg. forms of nouns ending in **-i**
- (ii) *i + ā* in the case of fem. nouns in **ir̥**, e.g., *āryā-* > **ar̥jir̥** 'grandmother', *bhrātṛyāyā-* > **bṛauṛar̥** 'sister-in-law'
- (iii) *i + ō* in the case of masc. nouns in **ir̥** derived from **-in** bases of OIA e.g., *prativṛtikah* > **paṭivṛṣiṣ** > **paṭovṛṣir̥** 'neighbour', *maxli* > **maxir̥** 'gardener'.

NOTE.—As shown below in the case of **gṛhiu** 'clarified butter' etc., *i + ō* has survived as **iu**. The double treatment of this group can be explained by the hypothesis that in groups *i + ō* which resulted in **ir̥**, *i* was pronounced longer than in the other case.

**ir̥** occurs in foreign loan-words and there generally represents *i*, e.g., **saṭṭhanar̥** 'a kind of musical instrument'.

## u

§ 107. Awadhi non-final *u*- represents

- (i) MIA *u* derived from OIA *u* or *ṛ*, e.g., *udeti* > **uḍi** 'rises', *ud-ghaṭ-* > **ugḥaṭab** 'to become uncovered', *ujjvala* > **uḷar** 'white', *kumāra* > **kūar** 'unmarried', *iuka-* > **suar** 'parrot', *nakula* > **neurar** 'mongoose', *mukha* > **muḥ** 'mouth', *ṣṇoti* > **suṇai** 'hears', *mīṭṛ-śvāsā-* > **mausiz** 'mother's sister'
- (ii) MIA *ū* derived from OIA *ū*, e.g., *bhūmi* > **bḥuī** 'ground', *sūkara* > **suar** 'pig', *dyūta-* > **jūar** 'gambling', *yūkā-* > **jūar** 'louse', *mudhūka-* > **maḥuaz** 'a variety of tree', *prāghūrṇa-* > **paḥunaz** 'guest'.

N. B.—The shortening of the quantity is due either to accent or to elongation of the final or penultimate vowel in Awadhi.

- (iii) MIA *va-*, *vā-* derived from OIA *va*, *ṛa*, *ma*, e.g., *svara* > **sur** 'tune', *apara* > **aur** 'more', *kapurda-* > **kauriz** 'cowrie', *kacchapa-* > **kachuar** 'tortoise', *samarpay-* > **saūpab** 'to entrust', *āmalaka-* > **āūrar** 'myrobalan'; particularly in modern loan-words *devatā* > **deutar** 'deity', *devakī-* > **deukar** 'a name', *tvarita-* > **turto** (*ardhu-tatsama*) 'at once', *dvandva-* > **dundiz** 'naughty'.

Awadhi final *-u* (*ṛ*) represents

Late MIA *u* < early MIA *o* generally derived from OIA *-aḥ*; but possibly many forms in MIA (particularly in neuter stems) are by analogy, e.g., *grāmaḥ* > **gāru** 'village', *tāpaḥ* > **tāru** 'heating', *sāṛpa* 'serpent', *nāma-* > **nāru** 'name', *dāma-* > **dāru** 'chance', *suvarṇa-* > **sozṇṇ** 'gold', *ghṛta-* > **gḥiu** 'clarified butter'.

The -u of the Imperative second person plural and -u -ŋ of the direct sg. case are thus derived.

u occurs in foreign loan-words and generally represents u, e.g. **gujarab** 'to pass away', **umiri** 'age'.

Note -u sometimes dialectically replaces o, e.g., *aphuḥa* > **phurijaz** 'boil', *khazu* : **khazo** 'eat'.

### uz (īr)

§ 108. Awadhi non-final **uz**- is derived from

- (i) MIA ū coming from OIA ū, e.g., *sūcikā* > **suziz** 'needle', *karpūra* > **kāpuzr** 'camphor'
- (ii) MIA u (derived from OIA ū or ɹ) followed by a conjunction of consonants, e.g., *cūrma* > **curnaz** 'powdered lime', *trufy-* > **ṭuzṭ-** 'to break', *prcch-* > **puzch-** 'to ask', *ṛddha* > **buzṛṣi** 'old'
- (iii) **ūzkb** < *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane' and **būzd** < *bindu* 'drop' are explained by assimilation of i to u at an earlier stage
- (iv) **durn** < *dviguṇa* indicates **uz** < *iu* (possibly first transformed to *uu*)
- (v) In **chuzraz** < *kṣura* 'razor' the lengthening of **uz** is unaccounted.

Awadhi final -**uz** is the result of contraction of groups of vowels of MIA

- uz** < -*iaṭ* e.g., *nāpitakaḥ* : **naruz** 'barber'
- < -*iaṭ* e.g., *navanīkakaḥ* : **nāinuz** 'butter'
- < -*īṭ*, e.g., *godhūmaḥ* : **gozṣūz** 'wheat'
- < -*uā* e.g., *vāṭukā* : **bazruz** 'sand'.

**uz** is found in foreign loan-words also.

e

§ 109. Awadhi e represents

- (i) MIA e, ē (derived from OIA e or ai), e.g., *kedāra* < *kejariz* 'a bed of plants', *nemi-* > *neijaz* 'an earthen support for jars', *kā-* (Māg. form of Pkt. *kō*) > *keñij* 'to whom', *śaivāla* > *sewar* 'a kind of green moss-like plant growing in water'.
- (ii) MIA ī (derived from OIA ī, ya), e.g., *vipādikā* > *bēwariz* 'a disease of the feet', *tithi-vāra* > *teuñar* 'festival', *dīpāvālī* *dewariz* 'the Diwālī festival', *nīpāvalī* > *newariz* 'a kind of white flower' (Chatterji derives it from *navamal-likā*, see Chatterji, p. 409), *vyavahāra* > *beuñar* (possibly through Pkt. *vivahāra*) 'mutual etiquette between families'.
- (iii) MIA a (OIA a), e.g., *kapāṭa-* > *kēwariz* 'shutters', *kaṃalā* > *keūlar* 'Lakshmi', *nakula-* > *neuraz* 'mongooses'.

NOTE.—Both in (ii) and (iii) it will be noticed that e is derived from i, ī or a followed by a labial sound.

- (iv) MIA ia- (OIA ī- + consonant + a) e.g., *śitalāya-* > *seraz-* 'to get cold'. Is the root *señolaz-* 'to become moist' connected with this very root?
- (v) At the end of words i corresponds with e dialectically, e.g., *khazi* : *khaze* '(he) may eat'.

er (ē)

§ 110. Awadhi non-final er- comes from

- (i) MIA e, ē (derived from OIA e, ai or r or ar), e.g., *ksetra* > *khert* 'field', *ākheta* > *añer* 'shikār', *taila* > *ter* 'oil', *gairika-* > *geiruz* 'red pigment', *vr̥ṇa* > *bērt* 'handle', *ṭayyā* > *serj* 'bed'.



- (ii) MIA- *ia-* e.g. *ḍi-aḍḍha* > *ḍerḍi* 'one and a half', *niara-* (< *nikaṣa-*) > *nezrez* 'near', *viana-* (< *vyajana-*) > *bezraz* 'fan'
- (iii) MIA *-aya-* e.g. *kadalī-* > *kayālī-* > *kezzaz* 'plantain tree', *citrakara-* > *cittayara-* > *ciṭṭerā* 'painter', *kārya* > \* *kayara* > *kerr* 'of'
- (iv) In *berī* < *bilva* 'wood-apple' and *chōṛd* < *chidra* 'hole', *parezwar* < *pratipadā* '1st day of the Hindu month' *ez* represents OIA *i* possibly through MIA *i* > *e* and in *sōṛḍi* < *sandhi* 'an aperture made in walls by thieves' *ez* corresponds to *a*, possibly through *satdhi*. The words *janezu* and *janez* < *yajñopavīta* 'the sacred thread' are hard to explain
- (v) *ez* occurs in the numerals *gezzaz* '11', *tezzaz* '13', *teris* '23', *tōṛtis* '33' and *tōṛtaris* '43' where it represents MIA vowel combinations *ēā*, *aya* etc.

*ez* occurs in many foreign loan-words and represents *ē* or *ai* or *āi*, *ai*, e.g., *tezz* 'speedy', *tezz* 'time'.

Final- *ez* in Awadhi represents MIA *-āṇ*, e.g.

\* *cittayara-ē* > *ciṭṭerē* 'painters', OIA *gata-* > MIA *gaāṇ* > *gaez*- plur. of the past participle *gax* 'went'.



### § 111. Awadhi *o* represents

- (i) OIA *o*, e.g., *jyotānā* : *jōḍḍaijaz* 'the moon'; Is *soḍḍarwab* 'to rub gently' connected with *śodha-kāra* ? cf. Turner Nep. Dic. p. 624
- (ii) OIA *upa-*, e.g., *upatālā* > *osaz* 'the ante-room'; Turner derives from *apasāra*
- (iii) OIA *au*, e.g., *saubhāgya* > *sofiarg* 'woman's good-luck that her husband is alive';

- (iv) OIA *ava*, e.g., *ava-ūḍha-* > **oṛḥonaz** 'wrapper',  
*avasara-* > **osariz** 'turn', *ava-ārṇa-* > **oinaz**  
 'a spindle on which yarn is put up after spinning'.

NOTE.—In all non-final positions **o** represents **ṛ** as is clear from the instances, given above. Finally **o** corresponds with **-u** dialectically and stands for late MIA **-a**.

In **okhariz** (Skt. *ulūkhala-*) 'a mortar for pounding in' the possibility of Dravidian origin has been suggested (vide Turner Nep. Dic. *okhli* p. 61).

### ox (ṛ)

§ 112. Awadhi **ox** represents

- (i) OIA *o*, MIA *o*, *ṛ*, e.g., *yoktra* > **jort** 'yoke',  
*potikā* > **pozi** 'a vegetable', *oṣṭha* > **ōṛṭh** 'lip'
- (ii) OIA *-au-*, MIA *ṛ*, e.g., *gaura* > **gozr** 'fair-coloured', *lauka* > **lozṛi** 'iron'
- (iii) OIA *-ava-*, MIA *ṛ*, e.g., *aratyā* > **oze** 'dew',  
*putra-vadhū* > **patozṛi** 'daughter-in-law',  
*rasavati* > **rasoziz** 'kitchen'
- (iv) OIA *-apa-* MIA *-ava-* > *o*, e.g., *√kṣapa-* >  
**khor-** 'to lose', *liṅga-patta* > **lāgozṛ** 'a strip of cloth to cover private parts'
- (v) OIA *-ama* > *\*āvo* in *mama* > **mō** 'mine'
- (vi) MIA *ua* (derived from OIA *ū* + consonant + *ṛ*)  
e.g., *kūkara-* > **sozriz** 'a female pig', *sugandha* >  
**sōzṛi** 'fragrant', *upādhyāya-* > **oizḥaz** 'a snake-charmer', *cāṣukara* > **caṭozr** 'one fond of delicious things', *suvarṇa* > **sorn** 'gold'
- (vii) In *prativāsin-* or *prativāsin* > **parozsiz**  
 'neighbour', Aw. **ox** represents OIA *-iva-* or *-ivā-*
- (viii) In words where Aw. **ox** corresponds with OIA *ū*, the possibility is that *ū* became *u* in MIA before

conjunct consonants and later became *o*. This was lengthened in NIA in order to compensate for the shortening of the consonant, e.g., *mūlya* > *mulla* > *molla* > **morl** 'price', *pustaka-* > *putthaa* > *potthaa* > **porthax** 'a big book'. Similarly we may connect **gophax** (*gumpha-*) 'twining', **korkhj** (*kukṣi*) 'womb'.<sup>1</sup>

- (ix) **cōrc** (skt. *cancuḥ*) 'beak' and **mōrch** (skt. *śmaśru*) 'hair on the face' appear to be loan-words from the substratum languages. The *a* > *o* has been sometimes explained, however, to be due to the contamination of *u* in the final syllable, if derived from OIA.

*o* occurs in loan-words from foreign languages, e.g., **zōr** 'force', **port** 'rent' (Pers.), as also from substratum languages, e.g., **qñōzg** 'show'.

### Whispered Vowels

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 113. There being no special symbols for the whispered vowels, it is not possible to say definitely if Early Awadhi possessed these vowels. The final short vowel makes syllables which fact *a priori* establishes that the final short vowel was pronounced. The fact, however, that the final short could be pronounced long also, however, vitiates the *a priori* conclusion. The possibility is that the final short was pronounced as a vowel but with a very weak quantity.

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 114. Awadhi possesses three whispered vowels **ī**, **ē**, **ū**. These are markedly present in the Western dialects but are absent in the Eastern ones.

A vowel is a sound in which the vocal cords are closely put together and have a certain stretch which results in

<sup>1</sup> The usual explanation of such words is from their *vrddhi* forms (see Pischel § 125 and Bloch § 80).

musical vibration: In the resonance chamber the tongue does not generally come in contact with the palate, so that a more or less free passage is left for the air. The quality of the vowel is distinguished on account of the position of the tongue. In mere aspiration, the vocal cords are wide apart and the tongue-position leaves a free passage of air. In whisper the vocal cords are closely put together but a small triangular space is left at their base for the passage of air. There is no stretch of the cords and hence there is no vibration and musical note. The resonance chamber assumes the various shapes for pronouncing the full sounds but as there is no vibration of vocal cords (in the case of vowel-sounds and voiced consonants) the full sounds are not heard. Still as the resonance chamber is making the same effort and as the air does come out, though with less force, sounds are heard and distinguished in whisper.

A whispered vowel, thus, is a sound for producing which the tongue in the resonance chamber assumes the position for the regular vowel but there is no vibration of the vocal cords.<sup>1</sup>

The apparatus does not distinguish between a whispered vowel and the explosion of the previous consonant; the acoustic effect is, however, decisive. A complete sentence spoken in whisper gives only breath inscription on the apparatus (See Insc. 25 **tum khazi azeu**).

§ 115. In Awadhi a whispered vowel occurs only at the end of a word and does not make a syllable.<sup>2</sup> Historically it was a full short vowel -i, -e or -u. It comes after consonants in modern Awadhi—it has a stronger whisper after a voiced consonant than after a breathed one. The whispered vowel gives place to the ordinary vowel (1)

<sup>1</sup> See drawings of the Larynx of Mr. S. Jones (Plate 20).

<sup>2</sup> Unlike Japanese where it occurs medially and makes a syllable, vide Edwards: *Phonétique Japonaise* § 25.

when it is followed by a voiced consonant of a place of articulation different from that of the consonant which precedes it, e.g., **marj gar** > **marj gar**, **ũrtu jartj** > **ũrtu jartj**; (2) when the elision of a medial vowel makes the consonant preceding the whispered vowel a conjunct one, e.g., **marratj** > **marrti**.

The whispered vowel of the particles is very weak as compared to that of the participial forms. The **o** of the particles has the same fate as a whispered vowel, but as its elision cannot be distinguished from the explosion of the consonant which precedes it, it is not possible to say that the whispered **o** exists as a separate phoneme.

### j

§ 116. The sound **j** is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of pronouncing **i** but as the vocal cords are not in vibration the full vowel is not heard (See Inscs. 26 and 27).

It occurs at the end of a word after a single consonant and does not constitute a syllable, e.g., in **jārtj** 'going', **girlj** 'wet', **sārtj** 'evening', **khaznj** 'mine'.

### u

§ 117. The sound **u** is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of pronouncing **u** but as the vocal cords are not in vibration the full vowel is not heard (see Inscs. 28 and 29).

It occurs at the end of a word after a single consonant and does not constitute a syllable, e.g., in **sārtu** 'snake', **haxtu** 'hand', **bhaxtu** 'morning', **sārtu** 'bull'.

### e

§ 118. The sound **e** is a whispered vowel in which the resonance chamber is in the position of **-e** but owing to the absence of the vibration of vocal cords, the full vowel

is not heard. It occurs at the end of a word and does not constitute a syllable, e.g., *kaṛhiesə* 'from what?' (see Insc. 30 sq.).

### C. ORIGIN

§ 119. The whispered vowels go back to MIA corresponding short vowels.

## Nasalised Vowels

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 120. All the vowels shown above have their nasalised forms also. For instance:

ā, a *bhavāra* 'bee' (J. 35), *bhāra* 'gravel' (T. 181)

ī *satlāḷisa* 'forty-seven' (J. 35)

ī *parichāḷī* 'shadow' (J. 37)

ū *ājīārā* 'light' (J. 37)

ū *avārāū* 'garden' (J. 41)

ē *caṣṭīā* 'jasmine' (J. 53)

ē *piyārē* 'beloved' (T. 176)

ō *kāṭcā* 'quiver' (J. 112).

### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 121. The dialects possess the nasalised forms of all the vowels (except the neutral and the whispered) described in the foregoing sections and they occur in all such positions as the ordinary vowel can take up. When a nasalised vowel is pronounced, the uvula is slack and thus while the air in its major quantity passes through the mouth a small quantity escapes through the nose also.

The following instances illustrate these vowels:—

(1) ā *ādhāraṣ* 'blind', *phāsaṣwab* 'to ensnare'

(2) āṛ *ārkhi* 'eye', *gāṛthi* 'knot', *kāṭāṛ* 'where'

(3) ī *īdāsaṣ* 'a sweet cake of rice', *jāṭigowāṣ* 'shrimp'

- (4) **ĩz** **ĩrdʃlʌn** 'fuel', **hĩzg** 'Assafætida', **gʌĩz**  
'(females) went'  
(5) **ũ** **ũɾezlʌb** 'to pour', **ju̯az** 'gambling', **dʃlʌũ**  
'whether'  
(6) **ũz** **ũɾt** 'camel', **mũzg** 'a kind of pulse', **goɾʃũz**  
'wheat'  
(7) **õ** **õɾuaz** 'a seat made of hemp or grass',  
**gʃõɾtuaz** 'neck'  
(8) **õz** **õɾɟiz** 'ankle', **gõɾd** 'ball', **bʃlɔɾõʃõz** 'in the  
morning'  
(9) **õ** **gõɾhibaz** 'shall plait'  
(10) **õz** **õɾɟh** 'lip', **sõɾɟhĩ** 'dry ginger'.

The palatogram of **ĩz** (19) is slightly different from that of the corresponding un-nasalised vowel. In other cases the nasalisation does not show any difference in palatograms.

§ 122. The nasalised vowels are separate phonemes in as much as the absence of nasalisation may entirely change the meaning of a word, e.g., **pārtiz** 'rows', but **partiz** 'leaf', **cāɾɟaz** 'slap', but **carɟaz** 'licked', **lax** 'fondling', but **lāɾɟ** 'penis', **saxiz** 'an advance to settle an agreement', **sāɾiz** 'a tribe of saints', **kʌʃaz** 'said', but **kʌʃāz** 'where'.

A nasalised vowel nasalises the following voiced consonant (but not the breathed one (See Insc. 21) so much so that it would be more accurate to say that a *reduced* nasal comes between the two, e.g., **ĩrdʃlʌn**, **ĩɾɟur** and **ĩdʌrsaz** (Inscs. 22, 23 and 24) should be written as **ĩrndʃlʌn**, **ĩɾɟur** and **ĩndʌrsaz**. See also Inscs. 42 and 43 (**bāɾɟ** and **hĩzg**).

When a word ends in a long vowel and there is a nasalised vowel or nasal somewhere in the word, the breath passes through the nose also at the end, see **ĩdʌrsaz** (Inscs. 24). Carefulness in speaking may keep off the influence of nasalisation (cf. **ju̯az** and **ju̯āz** Inscs. 44 and 45).

§ 123. The pronunciation of intervocalic nasalised -d- and -b-, aspirated or unaspirated, differs with dialects. In the

Western dialects it is **-ḍ**, **-ḷ**, **-ḍḥ**, **ḷḥ** although as shown here the nasal consonant appears before the mute. In the Eastern dialects the mute has entirely disappeared so that Western **-ḍ** and **-ḷ** appear as **-n** and **-m**, e.g., Lmp. **bḥḍḥax** Sl. **banḥax**; Lmp. **bḥḍ** Sl. **buzn**; Lmp. **gḥḍ** Sl. **genawaz**; Lmp. **candān** Sl. **canḥan**; Lmp. **sāḍez** Sl. **sanez**; U. **sḥrbiz** A. **sermix** or **chermix**; Lmp. **kāḥariz** Fy. **kamariz**; Lmp. **kāḍḥariz** Fy. **kanḥariz**; Lmp. **bāḥḥan** Fy. **baḥḥan**; Lmp. **thāḥḥariz** Fy. **thamḥariz**; Lmp. **paḥḥab** Fy. **painḥab**.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 124. Nasalization in Indo-Aryan has been classed as 'dependent' and 'spontaneous'. The former comes up on account of the influence of a neighbouring nasal or *anuvāra* in OIA or MIA. This variety of nasalization occurs quite frequently in Modern Indo-Aryan including Awadhi; particularly in words where a nasal follows a vowel it has generally left its impress on the preceding vowel, e.g., **dānt** < *danta*. But sometimes a nasal preceding a vowel appears to have nasalized its successor as is clear from the manuscripts where we find *māi* for modern **māiz** 'mother'.

It is also clear that a nasal coming before a voiced consonant leaves nasality longer than one coming before a breathed consonant, e.g., *santāpayati* > **sataizwai** 'oppresses', *kaṅkata* > **kakawaz** 'comb', *kaṅkaṇa* > **kakanaḥ** 'bracelet' while *andha* > **āḥḍar** 'blind', *kampa* > **kāzp** 'to tremble; cf. Aw. **paseriz**, Hin. **panseiriz** 'weight of five seers'.

This shows that just as to-day (see 122), nasalization in earlier stages also was less marked before a breathed consonant than before a voiced consonant.

The dependent nasalization is noticed in a few foreign words also, e.g., Pers. *bandar* > Aw. **bāḥdar** 'monkey'.



§ 125. The spontaneous nasalization is very unstable historically and it is not possible to reduce it to general rules.<sup>1</sup> The same word may be found with nasalization at one place and without it at another, *e.g.*, *thurku* and *thūṛku*, *gfārs* and *gfāṛs*. But it may be noted that nasalization has been generally noticed where *r*, sibilant or *ḷ* was present somewhere in the word, *e.g.*, *sarpa* > *sārp*, *akṣi* > *ākṣiḥ* 'eye'.

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<sup>1</sup> For studies on the subject, see

Grierson: Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages—J. R. A. S. 1922, p. 381.

Siddheshwar Varma: Nasalisation in Hindi Literary Works—Journal of the Deptt. of Letters, Cal. Univ., Vol. XVIII,

## CHAPTER II

### VOWEL-COMBINATIONS

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 126. All the vowel-combinations given below in the case of Modern Awadhi are generally found in Early Awadhi also. For instance :

- iā*, e.g., *ḍiā* 'lamp' (J. 24).
- iū*, e.g., *nīū* 'lemon' (J. 52).
- iē*, e.g., *ḍiē* 'gave' (T. 160).
- iā*, e.g., *piāḥ* 'drink' (J. 20).
- iā*, e.g., *duniāl* 'in the world' (J. 20). *tiāgi* 'selfless' (J. 23).
- iō*, e.g., *biōgi* 'lorn' (J. 45).
- iū*, e.g., *cāriu* 'all the four' (J. 31).
- ēi*, e.g., *fēi* 'having sharpened' (T. 166).
- ḍi*, e.g., *ḍēi* 'gives' (J. 22).
- ēo*, e.g., *mahādēo* 'Śiva' (J. 425).
- ḍu*, e.g., *sēu* 'apple' (J. 52).
- ei*, e.g., *jei* 'whoever' (J. 23).
- eo*, e.g., *deotānhi* 'gods' (J. 55).
- eu*, e.g., *nāeu* 'bent' (J. 19).
- eū*, e.g., *bhāeū* 'became' (J. 23).
- āi*, e.g., *ḍāl* 'God' (J. 21).
- ai*, e.g., *caḍhai* 'attacks' (J. 19), *saiada* 'Syed' (J. 24).
- ae*, e.g., *mērae* 'unites' (J. 26).
- aē*, e.g., *gaē* 'went' (210).
- au*, e.g., *kāḍau* 'mud' (J. 19.).
- aū*, e.g., *dūaū* 'both' (J. 273).
- āi*, e.g., *nāi* 'like' (J. 22).

- āi*, e.g., *jāi* 'having gone' (J. 19).  
*āē*, e.g., *lukhāē* 'showed' (J. 26).  
*āe*, e.g., *jāesa* 'Jāyas' (J. 33).  
*āo*, e.g., *ghāo* 'wound' (J. 220).  
*āu*, e.g., *niāu* 'justice' (J. 20), *pāu* 'gets' (J. 25).  
*āū*, e.g., *ṭhāū* 'place' (J. 45), *jarāū* 'wrought' (J. 57).  
*oi*, e.g., *hoi* 'becoming' (J. 19).  
*ou*, e.g., *dou* 'both' (T. 167).  
*ōi*, e.g., *kōi* 'anyone' (J. 20).  
*ōi*, e.g., *hōi* 'he' (J. 24).  
*ōa*, e.g., *rōahē* 'weep' (J. 254).  
*ōā*, e.g., *rōā* 'wept' (J. 225).  
*ōu*, e.g., *ēōu* 'even he' (J. 20).  
*ōū*, e.g., *kōū* 'anyone' (J. 23).  
*ui*, e.g., *dui* 'two' (J. 25).  
*uē*, e.g., *uē* 'rose' (J. 50).  
*ua*, e.g., *chuai* 'touching' (J. 20), *duau* 'both' (J. 25),  
*cua* 'drips' (J. 41).  
*uā*, e.g., *aguā* 'leader' (J. 26).  
*uu*, e.g., *nauu* 'all the nine' (J. 56).

NOTE—*ai* and *au* have definite diphthong symbols, but are mostly written as simple vowels.

Nasalised vowels also are frequently found in combination.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 127. (a) The language has all varieties of combinations of two vowels. The following are the usual ones :

1. *iiz*, e.g., *piiz* 'drunk'.
2. *iez*, e.g., *jiez* 'became alive'.
3. *iaz*, e.g., *jiaz* 'elder sister'.
4. *iu*, e.g., *ghiu* 'clarified butter'.
5. *eziz*, e.g., *dexiz* 'will give'.
6. *exi*, e.g., *dexi* 'may give'.
7. *exez*, e.g., *kherex* (*calau*) '(go on) steering'.
8. *exu*, e.g., *dexu* 'give'.

9. **eu**, *e.g.*, **deukaz** 'a proper name'.
10. **Aiz**, *e.g.*, **ɒAiz** 'new'.
11. **AI**, *e.g.*, **bɸAI** 'became'.
12. **Aez**, *e.g.*, **gAez** 'they went'.
13. **Au**, *e.g.*, **ɬAu** 'then'.
14. **Auz**, *e.g.*, **gAuz** 'cow'.
15. **axiz**, *e.g.*, **axiz** 'came'.
16. **axi**, *e.g.*, **ɟaxi** 'may go'.
17. **axez**, *e.g.*, **khaxez** 'eaten'.
18. **axoz**, *e.g.*, **axoz** 'come'.
19. **axu**, *e.g.*, **ɟaxu** 'go'.
20. **axuz**, *e.g.*, **naɾuz** 'barber'.
21. **oi**, *e.g.*, **hoi** 'became'.
22. **ou**, *e.g.*, **dɸounaz** 'the wash'.
23. **oxiz**, *e.g.*, **boxiz** 'will be'.
24. **oxi**, *e.g.*, **hoxi** 'may be'.
25. **oxez**, *e.g.*, **dɸoxez** 'washed'.
26. **oxA**, *e.g.*, **dɸoxAɳ** 'the wash'.
27. **oxaz**, *e.g.*, **dɸoxaz** 'presents'.
28. **oxoz**, *e.g.*, **dɸoxoz** 'wash'.
29. **oxu**, *e.g.*, **hoxu** 'be'.
30. **uiz**, *e.g.*, **gɸuiz** 'the flower of reeds'.
31. **ui**, *e.g.*, **ɖui** 'two'.
32. **uez**, *e.g.*, **uez** 'rose'.
33. **uA**, *e.g.*, **kūAɳ** 'the wells' (obl.).
34. **uaz**, *e.g.*, **buaz** 'mother'.
35. **uziz**, *e.g.*, **ruɾiz** 'cotton'.

**NOTE.**—Of these, the combinations of two short vowels, particularly **AI**, **Au** have a tendency to become diphthongs.

(b) The following are the most common groups of three vowels :

1. **ieu**, *e.g.*, **pieu** '(you) drank'.
2. **iau**, *e.g.*, **ɟiau** 'live'.
3. **eieu**, *e.g.*, **khoeu** '(you) paddled the oars'.

4. **aiar**, *e.g.*, **neiar** 'the earthen support of vessels'.
5. **Aiar**, *e.g.*, **bñaiar** 'brother'.
6. **Auar**, *e.g.*, **khauar** 'eater (glutton)'.
7. **aiu**, *e.g.*, **aiu** 'you (ladies) came'.
8. **areu**, *e.g.*, **kñareu** 'you ate'.
9. **oiar**, *e.g.*, **loiar** 'blanket'.
10. **oreu**, *e.g.*, **dñoreu** 'you washed'.
11. **uiar**, *e.g.*, **gñūiar** 'the root of Arum'.

NOTE.—Several dialects show a variation in the combination of vowels. For instance:

Lakhimpuri **eri**, **eru**, **ai**, **Au**, **ari**, **aru**, **oi**, **ori** and **oru** are represented in the Eastern dialects by **ere**, **ero**, **Ae**,  **Ao**, **are**, **aro**, **oe**, **ore** and **oro** respectively.

**ai** is found as **Aj** in some Central and Eastern dialects. A specimen from Bahraich town records **ai** while only twelve miles north of it another specimen records **Aj**.

#### ORIGIN

§ 128. The OIA diphthongs had become simple vowels in MIA (*ai* > *o*, *au* > *e*), which permitted vowels coming side by side without coalescence. The same state continues in Mod IA and particularly in Awadhi. Evidence of diphthongisation is infrequent and in this respect Eastern Hindi stands generally in contrast with Western Hindi where diphthongisation of simple vowels is usually found. Awadhi **ai** has two simple vowels **A** and **i**, in Braj generally the two have the acoustic effect of a diphthong while in Hindustani of Delhi area this **ai** is represented by **ae**. This is found in Rajasthani as **e**.

The origin of simple vowels (single) has been discussed in detail above. Vowel-combinations have no separate history.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SYLLABLE

§ 129. A syllable in Awadhī consists of

1. a vowel, *e.g.*, *ix* 'these', *ux* 'that', *i/u* 'this', *bñā-i-ax* 'brother' etc.,
2. a vowel plus a consonant, *e.g.*, *ek* 'one', in 'these' *ox* 'check',
3. a vowel plus the closure of a long consonant (commonly known as a double consonant), *e.g.*, *ot/raz* 'that much', *Al/raz* 'God (among Mohammedans)';
4. a vowel plus the first of a conjunct consonant, *e.g.*, *Ar/six* 'linseed', *ul/ṭax* 'opposite',
5. a vowel plus a consonant plus a whispered vowel or *o*, *e.g.*, *jax/iti* '(we) going'; *ji/Ati* 'living', *Ape/nax* 'herself',
6. a consonant plus a vowel, *e.g.*, *raz/jax* 'king', *ki/taib* 'book',
7. a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant, *e.g.*, *din* 'day', *bas* 'control', *har* 'plough',
8. a consonant plus a vowel plus the closure of a long consonant (commonly known as a double consonant), *e.g.*, *bap/raz* 'father', *kut/raz* 'dog', *bñuṭ/raz* 'an ear of maize',
9. a consonant plus a vowel plus the first of a conjunct, *e.g.*, *khaṇ/ṭax* 'sour', *kun/dax* 'log', *bñiṇ/ḍix* 'lady's finger', *har/chi* 'spear',
10. a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant and a whispered vowel, *e.g.*, *razma* 'Rāma', *jartī* 'going'.

An intervocalic consonant goes with the following vowel to make a syllable and two successive vowels make two different syllables.

§ 130. Most of the syllables in Awadhi are of the variety of a consonant plus a vowel. Out of the eighty-six syllables which make the first three sentences of **gulgular wazlir kathar** (Texts No 1), forty-four are of this variety, twenty-two of a single vowel, fifteen of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant, two of a vowel plus a consonant, one of a consonant plus a vowel plus a consonant and a whispered vowel and two of a vowel plus a consonant plus a whispered vowel.

§ 131. The syllabic division in Awadhi, as we see from the analysis of syllables, mostly comes after the vowel, the most sonorous element. When there is a long consonant or conjunct consonant, however, the division comes after the closure of the long consonant and after the first consonant respectively.

The general rule in Awadhi is that a long vowel should be followed by a short consonant. A short vowel may be followed by a long, or short or conjunct consonant. A consonant short or long may have a vowel of any quantity after it. In certain verbal formations where **ʌ** has been elided between **r** or **l** and a consonant, we have a long vowel followed by a conjunct consonant, e.g., **baxratj** > **baxrti** 'burns', **carlatj** > **carlti** 'sifts'. We have it in loan-words also, e.g., **baxlʒir** 'bucket', the dialect-word being **qoxlq**.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE WORD

§ 132. A word in Awadhi may begin either with a consonant or a vowel. Any vowel may begin a word. As regards consonants, most of them can begin a word—only a few, mentioned in their individual treatment, which occur only medially or finally do not do so. Lakhimpuri avoids the semi-vowels (*y* and *w*) initially.

(a) Not more than one consonant (short) may come at the beginning of a word and not more than two vowels together. In the middle of a word we may find one vowel or two or three vowels together. When there are three, the last vowel has a tendency to be separated from the preceding two by a semi-vowel, e.g., **neiaz** 'a support for jars' becomes **neijaz**, **pauaz** 'a quarter of a seer' becomes **pauwaz**. In the medial position generally there is a short consonant. Sometimes we have it long—mostly in loan-words, e.g., **kutzaz** 'dog', the proper dialect-word being **kuzkur**. Not more than two consonants can come together in the middle of a word and these should be :

1. Nasal and a consonant, e.g., **sangfi** 'with', **khopcar** 'a dish of sweets', **piqdi** 'a lump', **bundaz** 'earrings', **bambez** 'pipe'.

2. *r* plus a consonant, e.g., **bfiurkar** 'an earthen cup', **bfiurjiz** 'baker', **barti** 'burning', **barphiz** 'a variety of toffee', **barsiz** 'anniversary', **barwat** 'spleen', **Arzfiiz** 'a kind of pulse'.

*r* cannot be combined with a retroflex consonant or with *j* or *l*.



3. **l** plus consonant, e.g., **palkaz** 'hodstead', **kalchul** 'spoon, ladle', **bazl̥t̥ir** 'bucket', **baldiz** 'exchange', **galphar** 'interior of cheeks', **kalsiaz** 'a jar', **kalz̥fi** 'tomorrow'.

The combination of **l** with **r**, **j**, **w** is not found. Group (2) is commoner than group (3).

4. **s** plus plosive. This group is found only in loan-words or in modern compounds, e.g., **bastir** 'habitation', **rastaz** 'path', **bāsp̥hoz** 'one who makes baskets, mats, etc., from bamboos'.

In the case of loan-words, the group **-st-** is very generally changed into **-fiatz** by all those who are in villages and have little contact with town-life, **bastir** > **baŋfiatzir**, **rastaz** > **raŋfiatzaz**.

5. **a** plosive plus a plosive. Both must be either voiced or unvoiced. This combination is very rare and occurs only in compounds, e.g., **khəŋkirowaz** 'bug'. In such a case both the plosives are fully exploded.

NOTE.—In one word only, viz., **barmfiar** 'creator', there appears to be a combination of three consonants together in the medial position. But **-mfi-** is merely an aspirated form of **m** like **-r̥fi-**, **-l̥fi-** and should be considered a single consonant for all purposes.

(b) A word may end either in a vowel or a consonant. Of the vowels generally long (**ix**, **ex**, **ux**, **ax**), or whispered vowels (**i**, **ɨ**, **ɛ** or **ə**) are found finally. If a short vowel (**i**, **u**) is found it is generally preceded by another vowel.

Only a short single consonant (more generally breathed than voiced) is found in the final position. A conjunct consonant or a long consonant is generally followed by some vowel-sound at the end.

§ 133. A word in Awadhi may contain from one to four syllables but the dis-syllabic word is the most common. Out of the 160 words in the first paragraph of

**gulgularwarlix kathax** (Texts No. 1) 105 are dis-syllabic, 26 tri-syllabic, 25 mono-syllabic and only 4 quadru-syllabic.

The four-syllabic word is unusual for the language, it occurs in some noun-formations and verbal forms or in loan-words.

In a word in Awadhi a long syllable may occur only as the final or penultimate one. Any vowel which is long in a base or root is shortened if it is more than two syllables from the end of a word when declined or conjugated. This occurs only when one of the two syllables is long, or both being short, the word ends in a consonant, e.g., **derkh + iñāũ** > **dekhifāũ**, **derkh + āten** > **dekhoten** but **derkh + eu** > **derkheu**.

NOTE.—When once the shortening has taken place according to this rule it remains in spite of the conditions being disturbed on account of a later elision of a vowel, e.g., **main + otu** > **manotu** > **mantu**. Here in spite of the elision of -o the first vowel continues to be short.

§ 134. In a four-syllabled word, the medial unstressed syllable with -o tends to lose its vowel, e.g., **mañotijax** 'headman' > **mahtijax**, **adobadaxi ko** 'hastily and suddenly' > **adbadaxi ko**, **choṭokaux** 'youngest' > **choṭkaur**, **tarowaxri** > **tarwaxri** 'sword'.

§ 135. A syllable with a long vowel, in the final position, shortens the length before short forms of the post-positions (*vide* Part II Chapter II), e.g., **nadri** 'river' but **nadxi se** 'from the river', **kaxhe** 'why' but **kaxhe me** 'in what', **ghorax** 'horse' but **ghorax se** 'from the horse', **goxñũ** 'wheat' but **goxñũ se** 'with wheat'.

§ 136. The short syllables of the enclitics in the final position, generally in swift speech, disappear, e.g., **Au** 'and' > **A**, **tau** 'then' > **ta**.<sup>1</sup> This occurs chiefly when the next

<sup>1</sup> An instance of this latter *ta* is available in Tulsidas, p. 165.

word begins with the same vowel with which the particle ends, *e.g.*, **Au** + **unkaz** > **Aunkaz** 'and to them', **tau ui** > **taui** 'and they'.

NOTE.—The form and meaning of individual words differ with different districts, *e.g.*, R. **manseiruz**, Sl. **manseirdsiuz**, U. **mansawaz** 'husband', Lemp. **meñaruaz**, Sl. **mëdñairuz**, S. **meñorairuz** 'woman', Lemp. **bñorosiñi**, U. **bñonosiñi**, B. **bñinañi** 'in the morning'; **khisiarb** in the Western dialects means 'to be ashamed' while in the Eastern its significance is 'to be angry', **dikro** in Western dialects means 'angry' while in Eastern 'ill'.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ACCENT

§ 137. Awadhi possesses a very weak stress as compared to English or other highly accented languages. That it does possess an accent—and stress accent—becomes quite manifest when Awadhi words are spoken by other Indo-Aryan speakers, say a Gujarati. There the wrong accent can at once be detected. When an Englishman pronounces **khaz/eū** 'late', he puts the stress on the second syllable and has to be corrected. Even when he puts it on the first, he puts it so strong that the word does not sound as Awadhi. A Gujarati person would put the stress on the first syllable in a poly-syllabic word, and it at once becomes non-Awadhi.

§ 138. Mono-syllabic words possess stress only when they come in sentences. In dissyllabic, tri-syllabic or tetra-syllabic words, the stress is put on one of the last two syllables, whichever is long either by nature or position. If both are long or short, the accent falls on the penultimate syllable. The following examples illustrate it.

#### (a) WORDS OF TWO SYLLABLES

**pi**-sazn 'flour', **pa**'cizs 'twenty-five', **'ba**zis 'twenty-two', **'khaz**inī 'they ate', **bhā**'waz 'became', **'sa**ndurkh 'box', **ka**'hisi 'he said', **'na**driz 'river', **'bhā**z̥tar 'brinjal', **'kut**raz 'dog', **ku**'darī 'pick-axe', **'sa**z̥fiar 'share', **'du**lofin 'bride', **'gā**ru 'village', **'bhā**zu 'rate', **'bhā**rtar 'smashed vegetable', **'sa**rd̥fiuz 'saint', **'na**zraz 'pipe, tunnel', **g̥fiu**'naz 'eaten by worms', **ba**'hini 'sister', **'bhā**riz 'brother'.

## (b) WORDS OF THREE SYLLABLES

lari'kaz 'boy', jfiāi'pai 'may cover', A'ɽfiariz 'two and a half', karu'axtj 'tastes bitter', ka'razinj 'they caused to do', so'waxisj 'put to sleep', bfiā'waxniz 'goddess', der'kheū 'I saw', paga'fiar 'rope', sa'gariz 'betrothal', ca'maxrinj 'a Chamar's wife', bhorə'hēz 'in the morning', tar'waxriz 'swords', kasi'bar 'shall tighten', bhāi'jaj 'earthen pot', ka'buzliz 'admitted', ar'daxwanj 'the string of the cot', u'ghaxi 'having taken up'.

## (c) WORDS OF FOUR SYLLABLES

kari'fiāxu 'loin', sirafiā'nox 'towards the head of the bed', kacefiə'riz 'court', qefiari'jaj 'a big earthen granary'.

NOTE — Words which have two short vowels together treat them as diphthongs—see Note under § 127 (a), e.g., 'deutar 'god', lag'waibax 'shall cause to stick', bañu'raĩ 'may come back'.

## CHAPTER VI

### ASSIMILATION

§ 139. The word has no phonetic definition; it is only a morphological identity. If an illiterate person were asked to divide his sentence into words, he would probably make mistakes astounding to the literate person particularly to the grammarian. However, some idea of a word appears to be present in the sub-conscious mind of the speaker, or else a child would not be able to make up forms from analogy.

The main existence of a word, thus, is with reference to its use in speech, i.e., in sentences. Here we find that one word considerably affects the form of another. The enclitic is tacked on to the preceding word and loses its strength in certain cases, modifying to some extent its predecessor (*vide* § 135).

Besides, a considerable number of cases of the assimilation of the final sound of a word with the initial of the following have been found. This is particularly noticeable in swift speech. Assimilation in Awadhi is always regressive. It appears that when a speaker reaches the end of a word, his attention comes to rest on the next one, the initial sound of which modifies the final sound of the first word.

NOTE—For the purposes of Assimilation, dentals, alvolars, palatals and retroflex palatals fall in one class.

§ 140. A whispered vowel or *ə* which occurs at the end of a word and stands between two consonants having the same place of articulation, is elided (see Insc. No. 41 — *pa + paɪ > praɪ*) e.g.—

**bfiarzi gawar** > **bfiarzg gawar** 'ran away', **kazflek khaxtir** > **kazflek khaxtir** 'for what', **khafijako kirowar** > **khafijakkirowar** 'the bug of the cot', **sargu khazisi** > **sark khazisi** 'ate the vegetable-leaves';

**bfiarzi calar** > **bfiarccalar** 'started running away',  
**cali difar** > **caldifar** 'started', **tizni dāzi** > **tizn dāzi** 'thrice', **kazflesə sarnini** > **kazflessarnini** 'with what did they mix?', **bfiartə darzi** > **bfiard darzi** 'rice and pulse', **paširi rafar** > **paširrafar** 'putting on', **tizni janer** > **tiznjaner** 'three men', **kafini calau** > **kafin calau** '(they) said: let us go', **kafati calar gar** > **kafaccalar gar** 'went on saying',  
**paširi lifisi** > **pašir lifisi** 'he put on.'  
**kafini calau** > **kafin calau** '(they) said: let (us) go'.

**batazini jazi** > **batazin jazi** '(they) went and told'.

**cali difar** > **caldifar** 'started'.

**difari difisi** > **difardifisi** '(he) put down'.

**pašini lifisi** > **pašinlifisi** '(he) put on'.

§ 141. A voiced plosive at the end of a word becomes breathed before a breathed plosive of the same class in the next word, e.g., **alag kai dezu** > **alakkai dezu** 'turn out', **bfiarzi calar** > **bfiarccalar** 'started running', **laxdi tau lexiz** > **laxttau lexiz** 'let me first put the burden', **jab paxniz piz bfiar** > **jappaxniz piz bfiar** 'when he finished drinking water', **roxjə tau arwatj** > **roxttau arwatj** 'comes daily'.

§ 142. A breathed plosive occurring at the end of a word (or immediately before a whispered vowel or **ə**) is assimilated with the voiced plosive of the same class in the following word (the whispered vowel or **ə** being elided), e.g.,

**saxt dāzi** > **saxddāzi** 'seven times',

**maztiki gfiarizax** > **maztiggfizarizax** 'a small pot of clay',

**baɪp bʃaɪɪz** > **baɪbbʃaɪɪz** 'father and brothers',

**saxt ʃanɪz** > **saxtʃʃanɪz** 'seven persons'.

**bʃaɪɪtə ɖaɪɪɪʃ** > **bʃaɪɪɖɖaɪɪɪʃ** 'threw the rice'.

§ 143. A breathed plosive coming at the end of a word becomes voiced when followed by a voiced plosive of another class, e.g., **diɪakɛ darwaɪɪz** 'on the door of the lamp (-s house)', > **diɪaɖdarwaɪɪz**, **paɪkɛ banɪz haɪ** > **paɪɖbanɪz haɪ** 'is all right', **koɪkɛ ʃuxtaɪ** > **koɪɖʃuxtaɪ** 'somebody's shoes'; **khaɪɪʃa po ɖʃaɪɪz** < **khaɪɪʃaɖɖʃaɪɪz** 'placed on the cot', **baɪp ɖiɪɪʃ** > **baɪɖɖiɪɪʃ** 'the father gave'.

§ 144. A nasalisation with the following consonant becomes nasal before a consonant of the same class (place of articulation), e.g., **paɪɪɪɪɪʃ ʃaɪɪ** > **paɪɪɪɪɪʃaɪɪ** 'I may reach', **pāɪɪɪ ɕaɪ** > **paɪɪɪɕaɪ** 'five or six', **pāɪɪɪ saxt paɪɪɪsaxt** 'five or seven'.

If the consonant following the nasalisation is aspirated the aspiration is lost, e.g., **bāɪɪɪɪɪ ɖɛxu** > **baɪɪɪɪɪɖɛxu** 'tie (it)'.

§ 145. A plosive occurring at the end of a word (with, or without a whispered vowel or *ə* following) is assimilated to the nasal of the same class in the following word, e.g., **dekhaɪɪ naɪɪz** > **dekhaɪɪnaɪɪz** 'is not seen',

**baɪɪɪ nauwa kɛ** > **baɪɪnaɪɪwaɪkɛ** 'excepting the barber',

**baɪp maɪɪɪɪɪz** > **baɪmaɪɪɪɪɪz** 'father and mother',

**taɪ maɪɪɪɪɪz** > **tamaɪɪɪɪɪz** 'then the Maharaja',

**roɪɪp naɪɪɪɪ** > **roɪɪnaɪɪɪɪ** 'may dance everyday'.

But **maɪkɛpo nauwaɪ** 'even the barber at the opportunity' remains as it is, because *p* is followed by a nasal of another class.

This assimilation is possible only in the case of labials and dentals as the nasals of other classes do not begin a word.



§ 146. The final consonant is in swift speech united to the initial vowel of the following word, *e.g.*, **tab erk din razjar** > **ta/berk din razjar** 'then one day the king'.

This affects only the division of syllables, the most common variety of syllable—consonant plus a vowel—being effected.

§ 147. A plosive or nasal coming at the end of a word loses its explosion if followed by a word beginning with the same plosive or nasal, *e.g.*,

**khext tizr** > **khextzizr** 'near the field',

**mazri ko khisiyari ger** > **mazrikzhiyari ger** 'he came very much ashamed',

**kazfemo mazreu** > **kazfemzazreu** 'in what (vessel) did you mix it?'.

§ 148. Final **b** has a tendency to become devoiced before a breathed consonant, *e.g.*,

**sab+kaz** > **sapkaz** 'to all', **jab ser** > **japser** 'since'. (See Note to § 15.)

§ 149. Final **-t** or **-th** has a tendency to be assimilated to the following **c**-, **j**-, **r**-, **l**-, and **s**-; the aspiration of **-th** is then lost. The whispered vowel is, of course, elided. For instance :

**bharzatj+calaz** > **bharzaccalaz** 'went running',

**sarth+calau** > **sarccalau** 'come with (me)', **khartj+**

**jartj rathai** > **khazjjartj rathai** 'was going eating (on

the way)', **qharizatj+rathaz** > **qharizatrarathaz** 'remained

searching', **sathj lihisj** > **sathlihisj** 'he brushed',

**bahut+sarp** > **bahussarp** 'many snakes'.

§ 150. Final **-s** has a tendency to be assimilated to the following **c**-, **j**-, **d**-, **t**- and **q**-, *e.g.*,

**uz kasisj calau** > **uzkassicalau** 'he said : — come', **das janex** > **dajjanex** 'ten persons', **kasisj das**

**birowaz** > **kassiddas birowaz** 'he said : ten trees',

**pacars thathaz** > **pacartthathaz** 'fifty points of

quarrel', **pacars qerari ger** > **pacirqerari ger**

'twenty-five got frightened'.

§ 151. Final **r** is assimilated to the initial **l** or **q** of the following word, e.g.,

**coxr lai gar** > **cozllaigax** 'the thief took away',  
**cazrj larikax** > **cazllarikax** 'four sons', **sair qeraxi gar**  
 > **saxqderaxi gar** 'the fool got frightened', **maxrj**  
**qaribax** > **maxqdaribax** 'I shall kill'.

§ 152. Final **c**, **ch**, **j** are assimilated to initial **q** of the following word, the whispered vowel or **ə** coming between them is elided, e.g.,

**pāxc qñeiz** > **paxñqñeiz** 'five heaps', **kuchp**  
**qaxrj deru** > **kudqaxrj deru** 'do put a little', **bñaxj**  
**ḡhaxñ bñeiz** > **bñaxḡhaxñ bñeiz** 'at once ran away'.

§ 153. **h** coming after a plosive or affricate is combined with that plosive or affricate so that an aspirated results. The previous consonant is then pronounced a little longer, e.g.,

**daroxgake + hukum** > **daroxgakḡhukum** 'the order of the police officer', **kaxñepə hñseu** > **kaxñepḡhñseu** 'what made you laugh?'.

(a) If a whispered vowel or **ə** comes between **h** and the consonant, it is elided if **h** is followed by a similar (back or front) vowel, or becomes **j** or **w** if followed by a dissimilar vowel, e.g.,

**jaxṭj hai** > **jaxṭhjai** 'goes', but **raxjakḡ hiñ** > **raxjakḡhiñ** 'at the king's', **pāxcə + ham** > **pāxcḡham** 'five to us', but **sāxcḡ hisaxb** > **sāxcḡhwisaxb** 'the true account'.

§ 154. If **-i** or **-u** comes between two vowels similar in quality, it becomes **-j** or **-w** respectively, e.g.,

**lai + axox** > **lajaxox** 'bring', **gāzu + ai** > **gāzwai** 'to the village'.

§ 155. The forms of the auxiliary 'to be' (present tense only) have a tendency to shorten their syllables when they come after participles. Only their last syllable (with the nasalisation, if one is there) is heard, and there appears

to be a slight pause—a silence—in place of the last syllable. For instance :

**kāfiatī fiai** > **kāfiati i** 'he says', **d̥fiarez haĩ** > **d̥fiarez ĩ** or even **d̥fiarez -** 'they are there', **khartī hau** > **kharti u** 'you eat', **deikhartī nazir hau** > **d̥ikhannari u** 'aren't you seeing?'.

§ 156. The following cases of doubling (lit. lengthening) a consonant and shortening the previous vowel have been noticed:—

**kiz tanaz** > **kittanaz** 'in which manner', **jiz tanaz** > **jittanaz** 'in whatever manner'.

Instances of doubling are also noticed in names, e.g., **babbu** (ordinary **barbuz**), **kalluz** (ordinary **kariar** 'black') and in appellations of relatives, e.g.,

**dadduz** 'elder' brother', **kakkuz** 'uncle', **bappaz** 'father', **kakkaz** 'uncle'.

This doubling seems to be due to emphasis.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE SENTENCE

§ 157. A sentence in Awadhi is generally small, containing from one to four or five words. In narrative speech these sentences are joined up by conjunctions such as **Au** 'and', **tau** 'then', **tab** 'then', **tafikai** 'then' or **ki** 'that' as necessary according to sense. In such conditions, the sentence itself generally forms a breath-group. For instance, the first sentence of **gulularwarlix kathax** (Texts No. 1) will be read as :

**erk razjaz rafai || au mafotairix rafai || au dulfin rafai** or the last would be read as :

**jaiser unker din bafurex || taiser sabker bafuraĩ.**

Long sentences are broken up. In such cases wherever the breath stops it must be the end of a word. A post-position always goes with the preceding word, the two are never separated for breath. The correlative adverb and conjunctions have a stop of breath after them. The subject and the verb when they come one after the other go together and so also the adjective and the substantive. When the adjective, substantive, and the verb come together and a pause is to be made, the breath stops after the adjective. The following are some of the instances:—

**erk | razjaz rafai || au | mafotairix rafai || au  
dulfin rafai. mafotairix rozj | chapian parkarile |  
bfiozjan banaxwai || au | apenax khaxi || au apenax  
larikak | khawaxwai. dulfin khaxir | erk bojfarikj  
| rozjix sērkai || aidxix rozjix | au loznq sabexre  
- dexi || au aidxix | sapjfiak. ui | maxre gusyak |  
rozjix qefariam | qairj dexi || au loznq |  
gagarim | naxi axwai. aisai | karti karti |  
baxrax | barsai | gudarj gaĩx.**

§ 158. As noted in § 137, the word-stress in Awadhi is very weak. But in a narrative sentence we have a strong stress on the word which we want to emphasise according to the idea that we want to convey. This falls on the syllable which ordinarily would have the word-stress. For instance, the sentence :

**tab ui hamsex 'bolex** 'then he said to me' would have word-accent only in **'bolex** which is a dissyllabic word, the others being only mono-syllabic. But in a sentence even the mono-syllabic words can have stress in order to emphasise a particular word. This sentence may have the following stresses :

**'tab ui hamsex 'bolex** 'then he said to me',  
**tab 'ui hamsex 'bolex** 'then he said to me',  
**tab ui 'hamsex 'bolex** 'then he said to me',  
**tab ui hamsex "bolex** 'then he said to me'.

The stressed syllable then becomes a little longer in quantity.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE INTONATION

§ 159. Intonation does not play a part in Awadhi to show a difference in meaning of particular words. In normal speech the pitch does not rise or fall considerably. For instance, in the two sentences **erko bāp̄er rājār rāṣṭatī haĩ** 'A great king is residing', and **tum khazī azeu** 'you have taken your meal', which are mere statements of fact the difference between the frequency of one sound-wave and that of another is not considerable (*vide* Charts 1 and 2). In the former the highest frequency is 160 and the lowest 99, in the latter 133 and 97 respectively.

§ 160. It is in emphatic speech that tone plays a definite part. For the purposes of investigation a sentence was selected which gives four different senses merely by the difference in tone :

1. Statement: **tum khazī azeu** 'you came after having eaten (your meal)'.
2. Imperative: **tum khazī azeu** 'come after having eaten (your meal)'
3. Question: **tum khazī azeu** 'have you come after having eaten (your meal)?'
4. Wonder: **tum khazī azeu** 'really! you have come after having eaten (your meal)?'

Charts 2, 3, 4 and 5 depict the rise and fall of tone of these sentences. Chart 2 (statement) shows that the pitch is more or less level. Chart 3 (Imperative) depicts that the sentence begins with a very high pitch (the highest in the sentence), there is an immediate fall, then the tone is more or less level for a considerable length of the sentence. It is

only at the end that there is a sudden fall followed by a rise. The highest frequency in this sentence is 181 and the lowest 91.

Chart 4 (question) begins with a high pitch which suddenly falls, then there is a level pitch followed by a gradual rise to the height at which the sentence began; then there is again a fall followed by a level pitch. At the end there is again a gradual rise and a gradual fall. It is thus rise : fall : level : rise : fall : level : rise : fall. The highest frequency in this sentence is 181 and the lowest 87.

Chart 5 (wonder) begins with a very low pitch, there is gradual rise and then a fall almost to the point at which the sentence began. After it, there is a level pitch and then a gradual rise to a very high pitch. The highest frequency in this sentence is 253 and the lowest 85.

§ 161. In individual words, the only scope for the play of tone is when a person is called from far off or when a word expresses acquiescence or prohibition. In the former case the last syllable of the word rises high in pitch besides being elongated, e.g., **bhāija z z z z** 'brother'.



In the latter case, only the interjections like **hāz** are used. Like 'yes' of English, **hāz** is capable of giving different senses by a difference in tone. The following are generally used :

1. **hāz** 'yes' — agreement or acquiescence 
2. **hāz** 'no' — prohibition or disagreement 

## CHAPTER IX

### OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

§ 162. As compared with the speech of grown-up people, the speech of children shows the following features:

1. *r* is pronounced as *l*, e.g., *gñar* as *gñal*.
2. *ɾ* is pronounced as *l*, e.g., *gñarix* as *gñalix*.

NOTE.—Sometimes a child substitutes *n* for *l*, e.g., *gñar* as *gñan*, *calau* as *canaun*.

3. retroflex mutes are pronounced as dentals, e.g., *kaxten* as *karten*, *tharkur* as *tharkul*, *qanqax* as *dandax*, *qñoxlak* as *dñoxlak*.

4. aspiration in aspirated sounds is very feeble so that they sound as unaspirated, e.g., *gñar* approximates *gal*.

5. *s* is pronounced as *ch*, e.g., *sunau* as *chunau*, *bataxax* as *bataxax*.

It has been observed that when the child begins to pronounce *s*, he does so in the case of initial *s* first—the medial *s* continues to be pronounced *ch* a little longer.

§ 163. The speech of women does not show any phonetic divergence from that of men. The speech of literate classes sometimes retains foreign sounds in loan-words, e.g., *j*, *f*, *z*. Otherwise there is no phonetic divergence between the speech of one class and that of another. The difference lies only in the adoption of vocabulary (see § 9).

§ 164. Gestures play a part in emotional speech. In ordinary talk men generally do not move their hands. The head rises a little when a question is put and falls when acquiescence is to be indicated. In quarrels, particularly of women, hands play a very expressive part. Challenges and



counter-challenges are made by the hand, the persons quarrelling advance towards each other and then retrace the steps. As soon as another telling point is told they again advance and again retrace. The fists are clenched, the teeth are pressed, one set on the other, with spreading of lips and the head moves forward. These gestures, however, are not particular to Awadhi only.

INSCRIPTIONS 1—10

M = Month

T = Time

N = None

M  
T

1



M  
T

2



M  
T

3



M  
T

4



M  
T

5



M  
T

6



M  
T

7



M  
T

8



M  
T

9



M  
T

10





INSCRIPTIONS 11—20

M  
T

11



M  
T

12



13



N  
M  
T

14



N  
M  
T

15



N  
M  
T

16



N  
M  
T

17



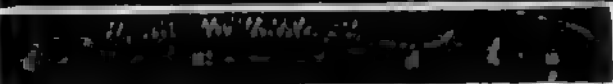
M  
T

18



M

19



M

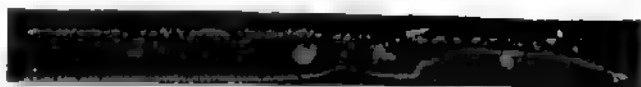
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# INSCRIPTIONS 21-31

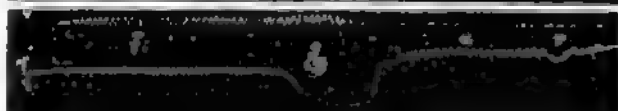
N  
M 21



N  
M 22



N  
M 23



N  
M 24



M 25



M  
T 26



M  
T 27



M  
T 28



M  
T 29



M  
T 30



M  
T



M



M 31



M



T





# INSCRIPTIONS 32--43

M  
T 32



M  
T 33



M  
T 34



M  
T 35



M  
T 36



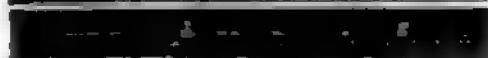
M  
T 37



M  
T 38



M  
T 39



M  
T 40



M  
T 41



M  
T



N  
M 42



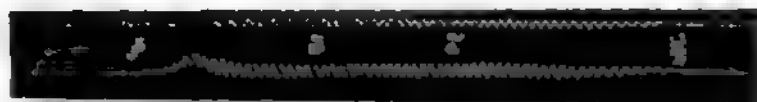
N  
M 43







N  
M 44



N  
M 45



N  
M 46



M  
T 47



M  
T

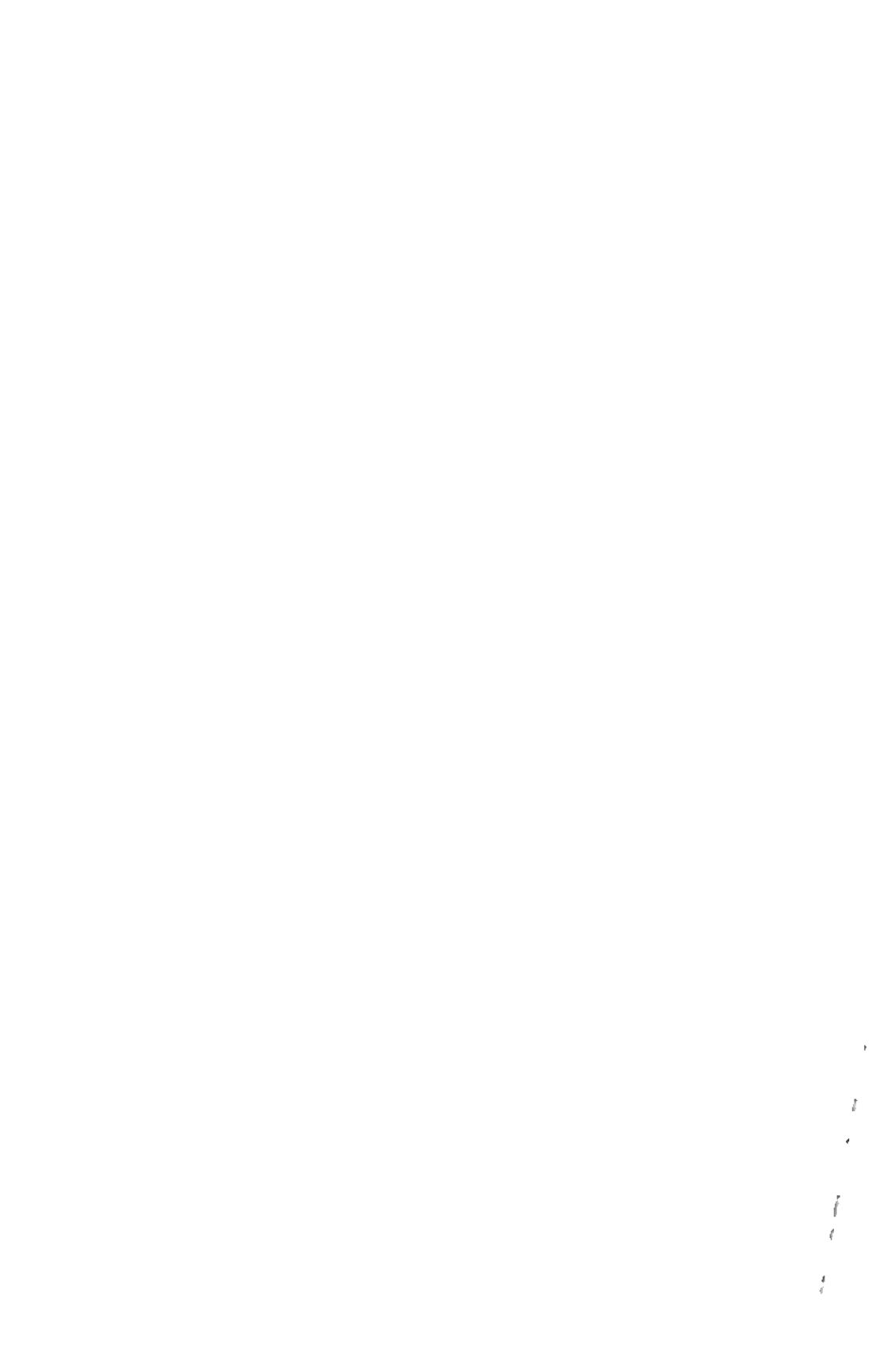


M  
I 48



M





## PALATOGRAMS

**NOTE.**—For the convenience of the study, it is proper to divide the palate into parts :—

1. the teeth (dental region)
2. the gums (alveolar region)
3. the rough back above the gums (palate)
4. the smooth back above the rough back (palate where retroflexion is made)
5. the highest portion of the smooth palate (almost where it meets the soft palate—where the so-called velars make a contact).



PALATOGRAMS 1-3



1



2

t

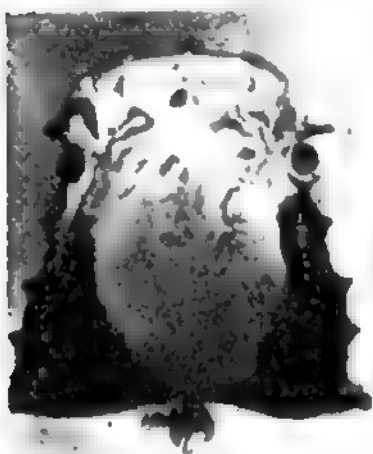


1

3

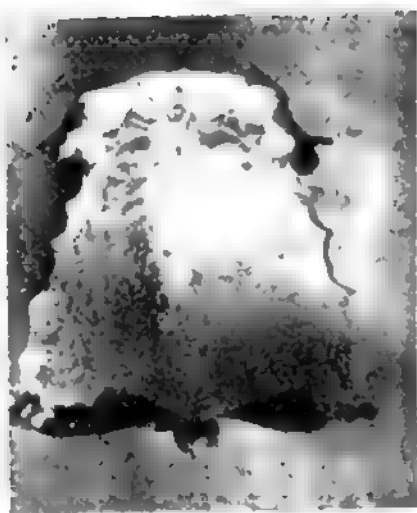


PALATOGRAMS 4-7.



4

ki



ku

5



6

c



no

7



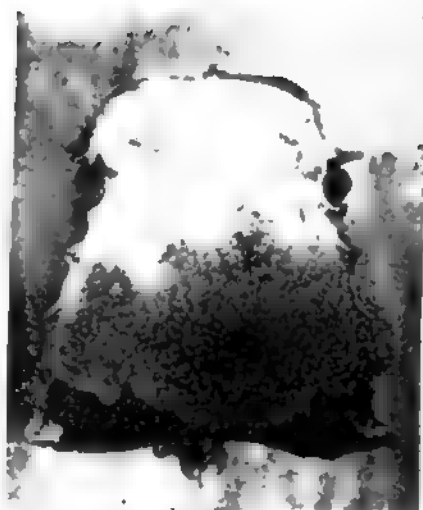


PALATOGRAMS 8—11



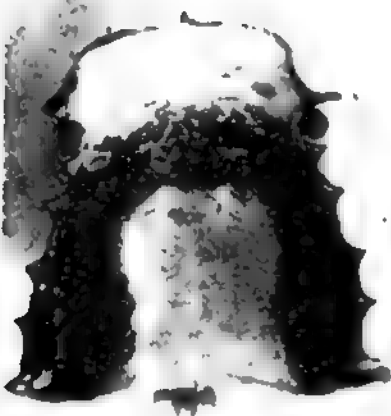
8

αηɔa:



αηɔa:

9



10

αɪca:



ɛ

11



PALATOGRAMS 12—15



12

c



1

13



14

s



j

15



PALATOGRAMS 16—19



16

iz



i

17



18

ez



iz

19



DRAWING 20



(a) breath



(b) voice



(c) whisper

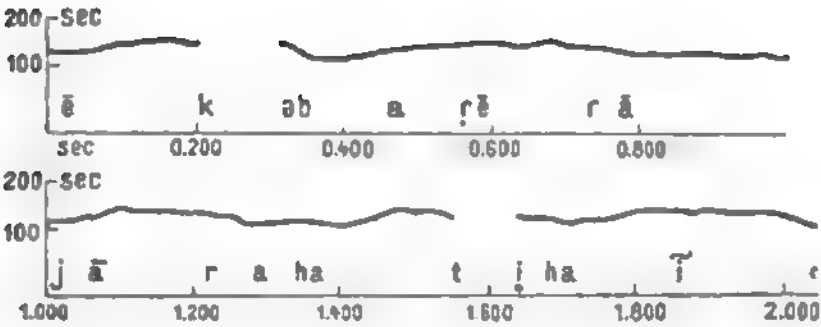


(d) closed glottis



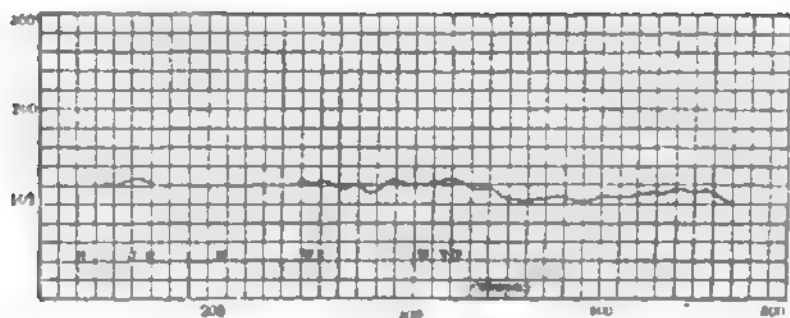


CHART 1

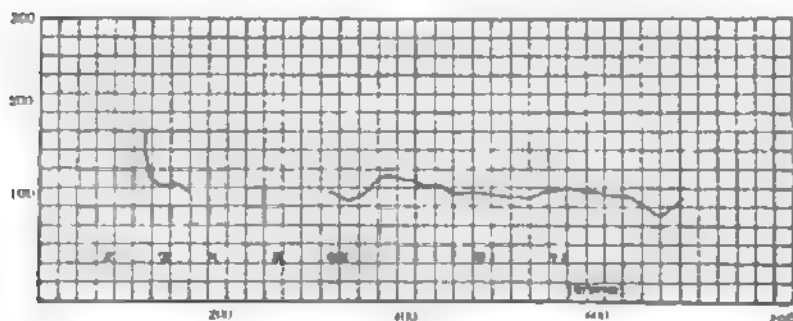




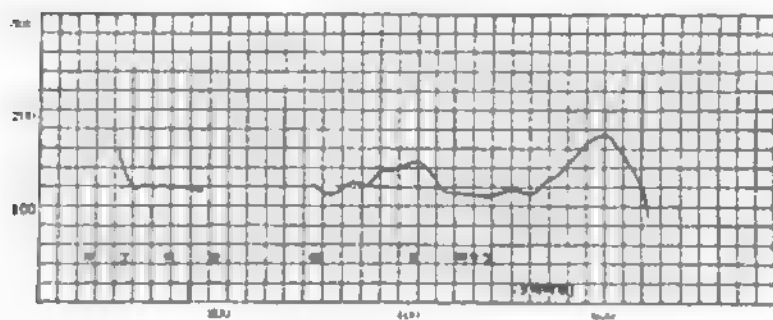
# CHARTS 2-5



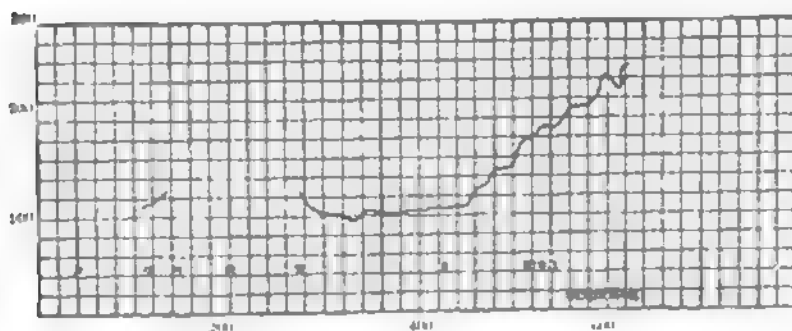
2



3



4



5



**PART II**  
**HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF AWADHI**



## CHAPTER I

### NOUNS

#### Stem

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 165. Nouns in Early Awadhi ended in -a, ā, i, ī, u or ū. For instance :

- a *ghōra* 'horse', *nakhata* 'star', *maccha* 'fish', *ārana* 'forest', *tāra* 'palm-tree', *sājuja* 'beasts'; *bhūkha* 'hunger', *ūkha* 'sugar-cane' . . . . Jāyasi.  
*ghara* 'house', *mana* 'mind', *hiya* 'heart';  
*avadha* 'Ayodhyā', *sikha* 'advice', *bājana* 'musical instruments', *kāja* 'work' . . . . Tulst.  
*khambha* 'pillar', *bakhāna* 'description', *acarja* 'wonder', *jībha* 'tongue', *kharihāna* 'granary',  
*bhatūha* 'eyebrow', *gāṣha* 'knot', *jara* 'root',  
*rāta* 'night' . . . . Nūr Muhd.
- ā *gilvā*, 'clay', *lōbā* 'fox', *cāṣā* 'ant', *kāvā* 'well',  
*dhandhā* 'work', *tarunāpā* 'youth' . . Jāyasi.  
*badhāvā* 'congratulatory concert', *batiyā* 'bud',  
*dōhā* 'couplet' . . . . Tulst.  
*cālā* 'disciple', *hiyā* 'heart', *citārā* 'painter',  
*paṭavā* 'braider' . . . . Nūr Muhd.
- i *jari* 'root', *bhui* 'earth', *sihiṣi* 'Nature',  
 Universe', *raini* 'night', *māhari* 'milk-maid  
 bird' . . . . Jāyasi.  
*savati* 'co-wife', *sudhi* 'recollection', *bhui*  
 'Earth', *gāi* 'cow' . . . . Tulst.  
*gāi* (*gāya*), 'cow', *budhi* 'wisdom', *sudhi* 'recol-  
 lection', *guli* 'ball' . . . . Nūr Muhd.
- ī *dharatī* 'Earth', *daī* 'creator', *mākhi* 'fly', *cāṣi*  
 'ant', *bāvarī* 'big well', *mūṣhi* 'handful',  
*macharī* 'fish' . . . . Jāyasi.



	<i>mahatārī</i> 'mother', <i>athāī</i> 'meeting-place', <i>kahānī</i> 'tale' . . . . . Tulsī.
	<i>bārī</i> 'garden', <i>bovāī</i> 'sowing', <i>darabānī</i> 'stewardship' . . . . . Nūr Muhd.
-u	<i>siu</i> 'coolness', <i>mīcu</i> 'death', <i>ḍiju</i> 'lightning', <i>kādan</i> 'mud' . . . . . Jāyāsī.
	<i>rāu</i> 'king', <i>gālu</i> 'cheek', <i>subhāu</i> 'nature', <i>pasāu</i> 'sweat' . . . . . Tulsī.
	<i>gīu</i> 'neck', <i>ḥhāū</i> 'place', <i>nāū</i> 'name', <i>pīu</i> 'husband' . . . . . Nūr Muhd.
-ū	<i>nībū</i> 'lemon', <i>baṣāū</i> 'traveller' . . . . . Jāyāsī.
	<i>nāū</i> 'barber', <i>baṣāū</i> 'traveller' . . . . . Tulsī.
	<i>pahārū</i> 'watchmen', <i>ḍiḥhiyārū</i> 'one who has eyes' . . . . . Nūr Muhd.

NOTE—1. A few nouns in Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad end in *ṛ* (e.g. *hiyṛ*, *cārṛ* in T.) but they are, to be sure, borrowings from Braj.

NOTE—2. The quantity of final vowels is very unstable in these texts and it changes for the exigencies of metre. A noun which otherwise ends in a long vowel (e.g., *rānī*, *cārī*) becomes short (*rānī*, *cārī*) in the lines of metres and a final short vowel becomes long at the end of a line (e.g. *nāṛ* > *nāū*, *ḥhāṛ* > *ḥhāū*, *karaṭṛu* > *karaṭārū*).

NOTE—3. Nouns ending in *-ā* are few and those in *-ā* still fewer. Long and longer forms of the stem (§ 167) are not found in Early Awadhi texts except rarely, e.g., *bhāt* : *bhāiyā* (T), *suā* : *suafā* (J. 109), *bhikhiyā* (J. 486), *akhīāna* (N. 35), *sejiyā* (N. 38).

NOTE—4. The texts agree with respect to the use of number and gender with modern Awadhi (see below §§ 170—170).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 166. A noun (stem) may end either in a vowel or in a consonant, e.g., *diāx* 'lamp', *nīd* 'sleep'.

(a) The final vowels generally are *-ax*, *-i* (j),

*-ix* *-u*, *-ux*. For instance :

*-ax* *kuāx* 'well', *khāṭijax* 'bedstead'.

- i(i) **seɪtʃi** 'banker', **gaxi** 'cow', **raɪɟi** kingdom,  
**āɪkʰi** 'eye', **ɟai** 'victory', **bajazɪ** 'wind'.  
 -iz **thabaxi** 'mason', **dʃioɪbɪz** 'washerman', **nadɪz**  
 'river', **pazɪz** 'water'.  
 -u ū **ghiu** 'clarified butter', **ɟiu** 'life', **gāu**  
 'chance', **bʃiaɪu** 'rate', **dʌʃiu** 'curds', **nāɪū**  
 'name', **gōɪū** 'village', **dāɪū** 'chance', **āɪū**  
 'mucus', **nazu** 'boat'.  
 -uz **naxuz** 'barber', **nainuz** 'butter', **baxuz**  
 'sand', **guz** 'excreta'.

NOTE.—Rarely **-ex**, **pāɪɾex** 'a class of Brahmins'

(b) The Final consonant may be one of those which can appear finally in a word (see Part I, Chapter I). For instance :

- k **sāɪk** 'breath', **noɪk** 'point'  
 -kh **bʃuɪɪkh** 'hunger', **saxh** 'credit'  
 -g **sāɪg** 'horn', **mūɪg** 'a kind of pulse'  
 -gʃ **gʃiaɪgʃ** 'very clever'  
 -c **kāɪc** 'glass', **āɪc** 'flame'  
 -ch **kōɪch** 'the skirt on the lap'.  
 -ɟ **laɪɟ** 'shame', **seɪɟ** 'bed'  
 -ɟʃ **ɟʃiāɪɟʃ** 'cymbal', **sāɪɟʃ** 'evening'  
 -t **pexɪ** 'belly', **bʃiaɪɪ** 'bard'  
 -tʰ **tʰaxɪtʰ** 'pomp', **hōɪtʰ** 'lip'  
 -d **laɪɪd** 'penis'  
 -dʃ **thaxɪdʃ** 'cold'  
 -ɾ **hāɪɾ** 'bone', **sāɪɾ** 'bull'  
 -ɾʃ **baxɪʃ** 'flood'  
 -t **khaxɪ** 'field', **bʃiaɪɪ** 'cooked rice'  
 -tʰ **hāɪtʰ** 'hand', **naxɪtʰ** 'the noose put in the  
 nostrils of bullocks'  
 -d **nāɪɪd** 'sleep', **tōɪɪd** 'protruding belly'  
 -dʃ **kāɪɪdʃ** 'shoulder', **baxɪɪ** 'string'  
 -n **kaxɪ** 'ear', **sōɪn** 'gold'

-p	<b>naɪp</b> 'measurement', <b>sāɪp</b> 'snake'
-ph	<b>baɪph</b> 'vapour'
-b	<b>baib</b> 'a kind of grass', <b>raɪb</b> 'wet molasses'
-bʱ	<b>jɪɪbʱ</b> 'tongue'
-m	<b>kaɪm</b> 'work', <b>moɪm</b> 'wax'
-r	<b>saɪr</b> 'wife's brother', <b>baɪr</b> 'defeat'
-rʱ	<b>rɪɪrʱ</b> 'spinal cord'
-ɪ	<b>meɪɪ</b> 'union', <b>caɪɪ</b> 'trick'
-ɪʱ	<b>maɪɪʱ</b> 'a string connecting the spindle with the spinning wheel'
-ə	<b>bāɪə</b> 'bamboo', <b>sāɪə</b> 'breath'
-ʱ	<b>bāɪʱ</b> 'arm', <b>raɪʱ</b> 'way', <b>naɪʱ</b> 'nail'

### Forms of the Stem

§ 167. In Awadhi, nouns generally have two forms : one short and the other long, *e.g.*, **nadɪɪ** : **nadijaj**, **gʱɪoɪɪ** : **gʱɪoɪɪɪ**, **naɪɪ** : **naɪɪɪ**, **naɪɪɪ** : **naɪɪɪɪ**, **kaɪɪ** : **kaɪɪɪɪ**. Some nouns have only what seems to be the long form, *e.g.*, **bilajaj** Cf. Hin. **bilɪɪ**, **qebijaj** Cf. Hin. **qibɪɪ**.

(a) Of the dialects, Lmp., S., L., U., F., and Br.<sup>1</sup> generally use the short forms. The long is used only familiarly and sometimes has a tinge of inferiority or contempt. It is never used of superiors but only of inferiors and the younger.

(b) Fy. and Sl., the two most eastern dialects, have a third form—longer (also called redundant)—of the stem, *e.g.*,

<sup>1</sup> Lakhimpur (Lmp.), Sitapur (S.), Lucknow (L.), Unao (U.), Fatehpur (F.), Bahraich (B.), Barabanki (Br.), Rae Bareilly (R.), Gonda (G.), Fyzabad (Fy.), Sultanpur (Sl.), Partabgarh (P.), Allahabad (A.), Baghelli (Bgh.)

Of these Lmp., S., L., U., and F. are western dialects, B., Br., and R. are Central dialects and G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. are Eastern dialects (see the map).

**kutiaz** (short) : **kutawaz** (long), **kutaunaz** (longer). They do not use the short form (except when a noun is used to denote a class, e.g., **gñorakq kãzdñerpai bair hort** Fy. 'the horse has mane on his neck'), but use the long very generally and occasionally employ the longer.

§ 168. To form the corresponding long, **-waz** is added to the masculine short stem if it ends in **-az** (e.g., **kutiaz** : **kutawaz**), **-ã** (e.g., **nãrã** : **nãwaz**) or **-uz** (e.g., **nauuz** : **nauwaz**) the vowel (together with the preceding consonant) being shortened before the termination and **-awaz** if it ends in **-iz** or a consonant (e.g., **dñorbiz** : **dñobiawaz**, **peɽ** : **peɽawaz**). To a feminine short stem **-iaz** is added if it ends in a consonant (e.g., **sãrk** : **sãkiaz**), or **az** if it ends in **-i** (i) or **iz** (**gazi** : **gaiaz**, **raɽji** : **raɽiaz**, **nadrii** : **nadiaz**) the whispered vowel becoming full and **-iz** being shortened before the termination. If it ends in **-az**, **-iaz** is substituted for the final vowel (e.g., **buɽfiar** : **buɽfiiaz**).

(a) The Eastern dialects add **-naz** after masculine short stem ending in **-az** or in **-u** (e.g., **kũãz** : **kũãnaz**, **suaz** : **suãnaz**, **sukhderu** : **sukhdeunaz**). These do not have the 'longer' form.

(b) The longer form is arrived at by adding **-waz** to feminine long forms (e.g., **kutijaz** : **kutijawaz**) and substituting **-unaz** for **-waz** of masculine long forms (e.g., **gñorawaz** : **gñorãunaz**).

§ 169. Modern Awadhi possesses a respectful long or longer form also, e.g., **serawaz** : **serauz**, **kutaunaz** : **kutaunuz**, **kutiaz** : **kutiauz**, **gñoriawaz** : **gñoriauz**. This is made by substituting **-uz** for the **-az** and **-waz** of the masculine long and masc. and fem. longer forms and by adding **-uz** to the feminine long forms (shortening **-az** to **-ã** before the terminations).

That this form is respectful is shown by the plural verb

*e.g.*, **serAwax aIwax**, **serAux aIjez**; **gñorIAwax gai**,  
**gñorIaux gaĩz**.

NOTE.—The respectful form of long stems is sometimes found in tales and is particularly applied to powerful and big animals like lions and camels. Otherwise its use is rare.

### Gender

§ 170. A noun in Awadhi is either masculine or feminine irrespective of the fact whether it denotes an animate or inanimate object. Bases ending in **-i (ĩ)** are generally of feminine gender (**serĩhi** 'banker' m.) while those ending in **-u** and **-ez** are of masculine gender. Those which end in **-ax** are generally masculine (**buzĩax** 'old woman' fem.), but most of such as end in **-iax** are feminine. Similarly **-ux** bases are generally masculine while those in **-iz** are feminine. But such **-iz** bases as denote an agent are masculine, *e.g.*, **maxiz**, **dfiorbiz**. Consonantal bases are found under either gender.

(a) The gender of nouns is indicated by the masculine or feminine form of the verb that they take *e.g.*, **gñarq jarĩ gaz** 'the house got burnt', **kitarib jarĩ gai** 'the book was burnt', the first is masculine while the second feminine. It is also indicated by the agreement of the adjective: *e.g.*, **bagax adomiz** 'a tall man', **bagiz meñarux** 'a tall woman'.

§ 171. Nouns which denote animate beings take their gender according to the sex that they denote, males being denoted by the masculine gender and the females by the feminine gender. For instance: **manax** 'man', **hanax** 'deer', **bardñu** 'bullock', **kabutzar** 'pigeon', are masculine, while **meñruax** 'woman', **haniz** 'deer (she)', **gaxi** 'cow', **kabutariz** 'pigeon (she)' are feminine.

(a) Some nouns, however, are either masculine only or feminine only irrespective of the sex that they denote

*e.g.*, **suar** 'parrot', **sārp** 'serpent', **neuraz** 'mongoose', are always used in the masculine gender while **mainaz** 'magpie', **ciraijaz** 'bird', **chapkijaz** 'lizard' are always feminine. These are cases where the speaker is either unable to observe the sex or does not care to do so.

(b) Nouns denoting a collection of living beings may be either feminine or masculine, *e.g.*, **bfiir** 'rush of men' (fem.), **jamaru** 'collection' (masc.), **sawariz** 'passenger' (fem.)

(c) Where living beings of either sex are to be described together, the masculine noun is used *e.g.*, **larikaz khezlati haĩ** 'the boys (for boys and girls) are playing', **hanraz bfiargie** 'the deer fled away', **mozlam bafut Ademiz rafiaĩ** 'there were many men (for men and women) in the fair'.

§ 172. Masculine nouns which denote living beings generally form the corresponding feminine by adding terminations.

(A) Nouns ending in **-az** substitute:

- (a) **-iz** for **-az**, *e.g.*, **bakoraz** 'he-goat', **bakoriz** 'she-goat'
- (b) **-inj** for **-az**, *e.g.*, **banijaz** 'grocer', **baninj** 'grocer's wife'
- (c) **-iniz** for **-az**, *e.g.*, **larikaz** 'boy', **larikiniz** 'girl'
- (d) **-ijaz** for **-awaz**, *e.g.*, **bachawaz** 'cow's male calf', **bachijaz** 'female calf', **buglawaz** 'old man', **bugfijaz** 'old woman', or add (e)-**inj**, *e.g.*, **larlaz** 'a term of respect for a Kayasth', **lalazinj** 'his wife'.

(B) Nouns ending in **-iz** substitute **-inj** for **-iz** *e.g.*, **marliz** 'gardener', **marlinj** 'gardener's wife', or **-iniz** *e.g.*, **hārtviz** 'elephant', **hāthiniz** 'she-elephant'.

Nouns ending in **-uz** either substitute **-unj** for **uz**, *e.g.*, **naruz** 'barber', **narunj** or **-inj** 'barber's wife', **sardruz** 'saint', **sardfinj** 'female saint', or add **-arinj** *e.g.*, **guruz** 'preceptor', **guruazinj** 'preceptor's wife'.

The feminine of nouns ending in **-ex** is formed by substituting **-azinj** for **ex**, **pāzrex**, **p<sup>h</sup>razinj<sup>1</sup>**.

(C) Nouns ending in consonants add:

- (a) **-i**, e.g., **suar** 'hog (male)', **sozrix** < **suarix**
- (b) **-azniz**, e.g., **jez<sup>h</sup>** 'elder to husband', **jez<sup>h</sup>azniz** 'his wife'
- (c) **-azinj**, e.g., **paṇḍit** : **paṇḍitazinj**
- (d) **-inj**, e.g., **sonaxr** 'goldsmith', **sonaxrinj**

(D) Some feminine nouns form the corresponding masculine by adding terminations, e.g., **mausiz** 'mother's sister', **mausiaz** 'mother's sister's husband'.

§ 173. Some nouns which denote inanimate objects form the feminine by adding terminations. The feminine in such cases always indicates a smaller thing, e.g., **raxar** 'a big rope' : **raxiz** 'a smaller rope', **gura<sup>h</sup>ax** 'a doll' : **guri<sup>h</sup>ax** 'a smaller doll', **gagarax** 'a jar', **gagariz** 'a small jar'.

§ 174. The dialects of other districts closely agree with Lakhimpuri in forming feminine bases. The terminations are the same. Fy. and R., however, substitute **-i** for **-iz** termination added to consonantal bases, e.g., **suar** : **suari**, **kukur** : **kukuri**. The final **-i** of feminine forms is sometimes audible and sometimes not. For instance : Fy. records **lalaxin** and **kofaxrinj** both.

(a) Sl. gives an example of a new masculine formed from the feminine : **bhaṭhi<sup>h</sup>axrinj** 'landlady, innkeeper' thence **bhaṭhi<sup>h</sup>axren** 'landlady's husband'. The corresponding Hindustani word is **bhaṭhi<sup>h</sup>axraz**.

(b) Some nouns are used in one gender in one dialect and in another in the other, e.g., **axlux** is masculine in Lmp. while it is feminine in P., **bars** (**baras**) and **gō:d** are masculine in Lmp. while feminine in R., **burtax** 'strength' masculine in Fy. while **burt** 'strength' feminine in Lmp.

<sup>1</sup> For shortening of the first syllable see Part I § 138.

### Number

§ 175. There are two numbers: Singular and Plural. The singular is employed to denote one and the plural to denote more than one.

The plural is generally used to denote one also when respect is to be shown, *e.g.*, **raɹɹax azɹɹɹ** 'the king has come'; the verb shows that the noun is plural, **ɹɹk ɹanɹ azɹɹ hāi** 'one person has arrived' is respectful as compared to **ɹɹkɹ ɹanax azɹwax hāi**.

§ 176. Words indicating classes of people add **papɹ** (after pronouns generally) and **loɹɹ** (after nouns) to form periphrastic plurals, *e.g.*, **ham papɹ** 'we people', **wakɹɹ loɹɹ** 'the vakɹs'.

The terminations to form the various cases are added to **papɹ** and **loɹɹ** and not to the preceding substantive, *e.g.*, **kafɹɹ loɹɹan mɹ**, **ham papɹan mɹ**.

The Eastern dialects which possess a plural form in **-ai** do not generally use the periphrastic plurals. The central dialects use them.

NOTE.—The form of **papɹ** is **pāɹɹ** in the East.

### C. ORIGIN: STEM, GENDER AND NUMBER

§ 177. (a) Masc. nouns in **-ax** (Early Aw. *ā*) generally go back to Skt. *-akāḥ* M. I. *-aṃ* type, *e.g.*, *\*kūpakāḥ* > *\*kūao* > **kūax**. The fem. nouns in **-iax** are derived from Skt.; *-ikā* > M. I. *-iā* > Mod. I. *-ī*. Thence Awadhi has a further elongation in **-ax**. For instance: *\*khaṭṭikā* > *\*khaṭṭiā* > **khaṭṭi: khaṭṭiax**.

(b) Masc. nouns in **-i** (*i*) should be connected with the Nom. sg. of *-in* stems in Skt., *e.g.*, *śreṣṭhī* > *śeṭhi* > **seṭhi**. The fem. nouns

(1) either go back to Skt. stems in *-i*, elongated to *ī* in the Pkts. (*agnih* > *aggi*) *e.g.*, *aggi*, > **axgi**, *vātāvalih*, > *vāāvālī* > *vāyāālī* > *bayālī* > **baɹaɹi**



(2) or are modern substitutes for *j* stems of Hindustani, e.g., *jayō* > *jayu* > **ᱡᱟᱢᱩ** > **ᱡᱟᱢᱩ**

(3) or are modern forms, e.g., *jari* (N) < *jaṭā* which became *jar* and then *-i* was added as a distinctive feminine ending. Cf. Ar. *khubar* : Aw. **khavarj**, Early Braj. *khavarīyā*.

(c) Masc. nouns in *-i* go back to Skt. *-in* stems elongated to *-ika-* Pkt. *-ia-* whence *-ī*, e.g., *mālin* replaced by \**māliū* : *mālia* > **maxlix**, **pānix** < *pāṇiyaṃ*. Feminine nouns in *-ī* come from elongated *-ikā* stems.

(d) Masc. nouns in *-u* in Modern Awadhi go back to Nom. sg. of masc. and neuter bases in *-a* (*grāma*, *dēca*) preceded by a single consonant. The Pkts. would give *-ō*, Ap *-u*. This *-u* has survived (*grāmaḥ* > *gāmō* > **gāru**), the vocalisation remaining because of the previous vowel. Feminine nouns go back to *-vā* forms **naru** < *nāvā*.

(e) Nouns in *-ur* go back to *-ūkō*, *iaō*, *-iaō* (*nāiaō* < *nāpitakaḥ*, *nayaniaō* < *navanītakō*) types if they are masculine and to *-uā* if feminine (**barur** < *vālukā*).

NOTE.—The one stem in *-er* (only **pāṛer**) is possibly from a dialect where *-iaō* > *er*? Or is it connected with *pāṇḍeya*?

(f) Consonantal bases, if masculine, go back to *-a* bases of Skt. which had a consonant before them in M.I. (e.g., *sarpaḥ* > *sappō*. Early Aw. *sāpu* and *sāpa*). The fem. bases are derived from Skt. *-ā* bases (*lājā* > Early Aw. **lāja** > **larj**)

NOTE.—Nouns borrowed from other languages such as Persian, English, etc. all come under this scheme.

§ 178. Modern Awadhi is very fond of elongating its noun-stem. Only traces of it can be found in Early Awadhi. This elongation is practically restricted to the old Ardhamāgadhī area, i.e., to the tracts (Kāśī and Kosala) where Ardhamāgadhī was spoken. It is found in proper names only in Bengali, e.g., Hari—Hariyā > **hore** in

standard coll., *poire* in East Bengali; *Rāma*—*Rāmuā* > *remo*; *Rāsika*—*Rasikiyā* > *rofke*; *Gopāla*—*Gopāliyā* > *gopale*, E.B. *gopale*, etc., contempt is implied. Cf. also Western Hindi *kanfaijāz* 'Krishṇa'.

What can be the reason of this elongation? We find that there was a suffix *-ko* in I. E., we find the suffix *-ka* working to an extent in Sanskrit and to a larger extent in Iranian. In Skt. it indicated the idea of the diminutive generally either in affection or in contempt. This diminutive form was more generally used in M.I. as is evident from the declension. It was probably to give a body to the form of the noun. A similar idea seems to be at the root of elongation in Modern Awadhi.

§ 179. The three genders of OIA have been reduced to two in all NIA except in Gujrātī and Marāṭhī. In OIA inanimate objects also had an animate gender (masculine or feminine) when they were conceived of as animate e.g., *apaḥ* 'waters' as opposed to *vāri* 'water'. Also some animate objects were neuter when conceived of as inanimate, e.g., *kalatram* 'women folk'. The tendency to conceive inanimate objects as animate seems to be at the basis of the loss of neuter in Awadhi and in other Mod. I.A. languages. The influence of the substratum also may be responsible. Meillet suggests that the loss of gender in Armenian may be due to Caucasian substratum. In India, we find that the languages which are nearest Tibeto-Burman (where there is no grammatical gender) have practically lost the distinction of gender.<sup>1</sup> Pischel<sup>2</sup> notes that the passage of neuter to masculine is common in Māgadhī but rare in other Prakrits.

§ 180. As has been noted, nouns denoting male beings in Awadhi are masculine and female ones feminine. So, as

<sup>1</sup> J. Bloch § 180, Chatterji § 453.

<sup>2</sup> § 357.

far as living beings go, the grammatical gender corresponds to the sexes. It is only in cases where the sex is not noted that the gender depends on the form of the noun. For instance:

**suaz** 'parrot', and **mainaz** 'magpie', are masculine, because most of the nouns ending in **-az** are masculine, while **chāpkijaz** 'lizard' is feminine as nouns endings in **-iaz** are generally feminine.

§ 181. The gender of nouns denoting inanimate objects is generally masculine or feminine according as they were masculine or feminine in Sanskrit and M. I. For instance: **bart** is fem. < *vārtā* fem., **hārt** is masc. < *hastā* masc. But the gender of the predecessor language is retained only if it fits in with the form of the word, otherwise it changes. For instance: **argi** (< *agni* masc.) is feminine as it ends in **-i** which is a characteristic fem. ending. Similarly **jai** 'victory' (< *jayah*) is fem. The word for *jambū* is masc. or fem. according to its form (**jamunaz** masc., **jamuniz** fem., **pharōidaz** masc.).

§ 182. Sanskrit neuter nouns were already passing to masculine in Māgadhi Prakrit and we find in Apabhramśa forms such as *phalu*, *ghin*, *dahin*. These are masculine in Awadhi also. Where the form of a noun is in conflict with the inherited gender, we find a difference in dialects. For instance: **motiz** 'pearl' < *mauktikam*—*mottio* is masculine in Lakshmipuri and feminine in Fyzābādī. The fem. gender of **āre** 'flame' shows that it became feminine at a stage when it had **-i** with it.

§ 183. The following words are feminine in spite of their form: **narū** 'boat', **bazu** 'smell', **maru** 'beating', **haru** 'defeat'. **narū** retains its gender (Skt. *nauh*, Pāli *nāvā*), **bazu** appears to have its gender owing to contamination with **gandhi** which is feminine. Contamination with **jai** 'victory' (fm.), may be responsible for the gender of **haru** and **maru**.

It may be noted that Hindi abstract nouns are generally feminine, e.g., **karṭ** 'cutting', **jit** 'victory'.<sup>1</sup>

§ 184. Loan-words from languages which have a neuter gender for inanimate objects (for instance, English) or have a masculine or feminine gender for them (e.g., Arabic) are generally treated of as masculine or feminine according as the nearest corresponding word in Awadhi is masculine or feminine respectively. For instance: **rezl** (rail) is feminine, the general word for a vehicle in Awadhi being **laṣṭijaz** or **garṭiz**, **kitārb** 'book' (Arabic *kitāb*—masculine) is feminine because of **poṛthiz** fem., the masc. word **poṛthaz** < *pustakam* being reserved for a longish book. Where Awadhi does not possess a corresponding word, the borrowed noun takes its gender according to its form, e.g., **kumertiz** (Eng. Committee) is feminine as nouns in -i are mostly feminine. If Awadhi does not possess a corresponding word, the borrowed word from a language distinguishing neuters as masculine or feminine retains its gender, e.g., **maut** 'death'. (Ar. *maut* fem.).

§ 185. The formation of feminine nouns from masculine ones retains traces of Sanskrit feminine affixes. Fem. -iz or -ijaz for masc. -az represents -ikā : *akāḥ* type in such pairs as **bakoraz** : **bakoriz**, **bachawaz** : **bachijaz** and -ikā : -aḥ type in such pairs as **suar** : **soxriz**. For the rest -ni or -niz forms the distinctive feminine suffix. For instance: **marliz** : **marlini** represent *mālikāḥ* : *mālinikā* type. In some feminine forms the final -iz has been preserved (which shows that they are probably later formations) while in others it has survived as -i. This -i already is losing ground in some dialects (See § 174).

§ 186. The device of indicating the plural by periphrastic use of the words 'lozg' and 'pāpc' is modern and has been brought about by necessity. The noun in the direct generally has no distinction in form for number, but a

<sup>1</sup> I owe this suggestion to Prof. Bloch.

distinction becomes necessary, particularly when a class of beings is to be denoted. Thus we find that the periphrastic plural noun is most used in Western dialects of Awadhi where the noun does not keep any distinction of number. All the dialects use the periphrastic plural for pronouns of the 1st person and 2nd person where **ham** and **tum** (or **tūx**) are used for both numbers.

**loṛg** (Skt. *loka*) 'people', **paṛc pūxc** (Skt. *pañca*) 'people' is generally used for a number of people. It is not used to denote objects. This is an instance of the distinction between animate and inanimate and of the influence of substratum languages.

### Case

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 187. Like Modern Awadhi, Early Awadhi has two cases of the noun—direct and oblique.

The direct is used generally as

(a) the subject, e.g.,

*rāni utara māna saṭ dīnhā* 'the queen answered proudly' (J. 140).

*cāri mīta kabi Muhamada pāyē* 'the poet Muhammad found four friends' (J. 31).

*kāha na pāvaku jāri saku* 'what cannot fire burn' (T. 176).

*laṣanw ki rahihaṭ dhāma* 'will Lakshmana stay at home?' (T. 176).

*sōrai kūara lihāt dhanakōrā* 'the prince slept with the beloved' (N. 9).

*sugādha suraṅga puḥuṇa tahā phūlat* 'flowers of good smell and colour were blooming there' (N. 9).

(b) the inanimate direct object, e.g.,

*katahū pakhaṇḍī kāṭha nacāvā* 'at some places the hypocrite ( juggler) was putting some wood in circular motion' (J. 59).

*pahilai tahi kara nāu lei* 'at first having remembered His name' (J. 2).

*jaū na rāmu bana jāht* 'If Rāma does not go to the forest' (T. 170).

*lāgi dēna sikha* 'began to offer advice' (T. 176). *baranāū rājakuāra ki dāni* 'I describe the nature of the Prince' (N. 9).

*rūpa kanaka kahū garhat sonārā* 'in some places the goldsmiths were making ornaments of gold and silver' (N. 14).

(c) 'the vocative, e.g.,

*ī rāni* 'o queen!' (J.)

*taba jāyehū bhāiyā!* 'O son! then you may go' (T. 178).

*mātu* 'mother', *hō bhāi* 'O brother!' (N.)

NOTE.—Sometimes the direct is used to indicate the animate object e.g., *savārāū karatārū* 'I bear in mind the Creator' (J. 2), and it comes also as the first member of genitive compounds e.g., *āgamānu-sūaka ahahī* 'are the indicators of the arrival' (T. 180), *nagaru-banāū* 'the decoration of the city' (T. 162), or as genitive (e.g., *sarisa kapāu* 'like the cotton-plant' (T. 3) or dative, e.g., *neppa jubarāju rāma kahū dāhū* 'O king give the viceroyalty to Rāma' (T. 158).

§ 188. The oblique is used with or without post-positions. For instance:

(a) with post-positions:

*Singular—*

*jaga kaha* 'to the world' (J. 17), *uparōhita kahū hari* 'having kidnapped the priest' (T. 74), *sūraja. kaha* 'to the sun' (N. 3); *kāli saū* 'with play' (J. 49), *ratana tē* 'with jewel' (T. 15), *hiē tē* 'with heart' (T. 24), *gāya sō* 'with the cow' (N. 9); *gosāt kōra* 'of the lord' (J. 27), *gāqāhē kai sāthi* 'friend in difficulty' (J. 24), *dāi kara nāū* 'the name of the Creator' (J. 41.), *bharata kara sammata* 'the approval

of Bharata' (T. 176), *śavali kai kathā* 'the tales of co-wives' (T. 164), *cēri kaikei kēri* 'the maid of Kaikēi' (T. 162), *tapī kara ajñā* 'the order of the hermit' (N. 5), *ḍāri ki nāl* 'in the manner of a garden' (N. 6); *purāna mahā* 'in the Purāṇa' (J. 11), *bhōga mahū* 'in the enjoyment' (T. 12), *phulavārī mahā* 'in the garden' (N. 6).

*Plural —*

*pañkhinḥa kahā* 'to the birds' (J. 126), *paditunḥa (kabitanḥa) saū bhajā* 'spoke to the Pundits' (J. 33), *pakhurinḥa kai chātē* 'bands of petals' (J. 48), *purukhanḥa kai dīṣhi* 'glance of men' (J. 254), *lōganḥa pahl* 'in the nearness of the people' (T.), *sakhina sō* 'from the friends' (N. 93), *raghubatṣinḥa mahā* 'among those of the family of Raghu' (T. 108), *kandaranḥi mahū* 'in the caves' (T. 40), *bipranḥa para* 'on the Brahmins' (T. 92), *adharana para* 'on the lower lips' (N. 49).

(b) without postpositions :

*Singular —*

*ākusa paṇa nāvai* 'he tames the elephant with the goad' (J. 39), *bhāya nāma japata* 'utters the name with feeling' (T. 16), *hēraḥt cokḥu nārī* 'the women look with the eye' (J. 49), *ārana rahat* '(they) live in the forest' (J. 4), *ḍaiṣha ahaṣṭ ḍaṣachāḥṭ* 'I am sitting in the shade of the banyan tree' (T. 27), *pūniṣṭ karā* 'digit of the full moon night' (J. 25), *cōṣaḥt karai* '(He) makes the ant' (J. 9), *uparoḥitaḥt dēkḥa jaba rājā* 'when the king saw the priest' (T. 75), *piyaḥt riṣhāi* 'having pleased the beloved' (N. 9), *mat carita sañchēpahi kahā* 'I described the deeds briefly' (T. 49), *sōnai sājā* 'decked with gold' (J. 67), *purukḥahi cāhia tēa hiān* 'lofty heart (courage) is necessary for man' (J. 363), *cōraḥt vāṭi na ḷhāvā* 'the night is not in the liking of the thief' (T. 162), *samudaḥt pārā* 'across the ocean' (J. 23), *mōṭiḥi jō maṭina hō karā* 'if the glow of the pearl becomes dim' (J. 90), *rāmaḥt ṣikā* 'the corona-

tion of Rāma' (T. 159), *ābahi dābha na hōi* '(if) there is no blossom in mango' (J. 29), *kuahi khāḍa bahu mēli* 'having put a great deal of sugar in the well' (J. 52), *māthai mōrē* 'on my forehead' (J. 89), *gunahi manu rātā* 'the mind was absorbed in merit' (T. 6), *babūrahi phala lāgahi* 'the fruits come on the babūl tree' (N.).

*Plural—*

*saṭhanki rāma-saṭhmukha kō karata* 'who would have turned the wicked towards Rāma' (T. 284), *nayanahi dharahi mōti* 'pearls fall from the eyes' (J. 127), *mukhani kahi nija hōnī* 'narrated their birth with mouths' (T. 4), *adharana hāsi* 'smiled with lips' (N.), *muni bhāinha asisa dīnhi* 'the sage gave blessing to the brothers' (T. 102), *paṭuvana gharabārā* 'in the houses of the braiders' (J. 56), *sacētanha karani* 'the deeds of the sensible' (T. 40), *sakhinha lāja* 'modesty of friends' (J. 510), *na nayananka āsū* 'nor a tear in eyes' (J. 242), *jūhi lakucanaha lāvā* 'the jasmine flower was planted in plenties' (J. 53), *jhalakā pāyanaha jhalakala* 'the blisters shine on the feet' (T. 237), *janaka pūṭhana baiṭhārē* 'Janaka seated them on wooden seats' (T. 142), *mērē hāthana* 'in my hands' (N.).

§ 189. The oblique is also used as the agent of past participle verbs in all the texts. For instance:

*rājai sunā* 'the king heard' (J. 84)

*rājat putra diāhā* 'the king married the son' (N. 7)

*pāvā sakhinha* 'the friends obtained' (J. 104)

*sakhinha kahā* 'the friends said' (J. 103)

*rājanaha sunī* 'the kings heard' (J. 83)

*siddhanaha baḍa mānā* 'the great considered (him) to be big' (J. 31)

*surana astuti kīnhā* 'the gods prayed' (T. 39)

*muninha kīrati gāi* 'the sages sang the fame' (T. 10)

*lōgana jānā* 'the people thought' (N.)

*sakhina pūchā* 'the friends asked' (N.)



*sakhiyana pahicānā* 'the friends recognised' (N.).

NOTE.—The oblique singular in *-hi*, *-i* is used to indicate the inanimate direct object also in a few instances.

*bāsuki jāi patāraht cāpā* 'Vāsukī went and got hold of the nether-world' (J. 19), *bajarahi māri uqāi* 'he turns to pieces the thunderbolt' (J. 9), *banahṛ sidhāē* 'went to forest' (T. 222).

### § 190. Terminations of Cases

- (a) *Direct Singular*—The bases ending in *-a* form their direct singular either by substituting *-u* for *-a* or like bases ending in other vowels use the base itself as this case.
- (b) *Direct Plural*—Bases ending in *-a* have a direct plural case in *-ē* (e.g., *tārā* : *tārē*, *chātā* : *chātē* *sapanā* : *sapanē*) and the feminine bases ending in *-a* have a plural in *-ṛ* (*asīsa* : *asīsṛ*, *bhātūha* : *bhātūhṛ* (J. 86), *bāṣa* : *bāṣṛ* (J. 110), *mūrata* : *mūrataṛ* (N.). Otherwise the base itself is used as this case.

Traces of *-i* ending for *-a* bases [corresponding to Eastern Awadhi *-ai* 'see § 197 (b)] are found in J. *saba ruparantai mukha jōhahṛ* 'all those who have forms look up to the face', (p. 29), *sapata dīpa kē barai onāhṛ* 'the birdegrooms of all the seven Drīpas come up' (J. 83), *āgai saguna saguniai tākā* 'those who knew the omens saw the omens in front' (J. 265).

- (c) *Oblique singular*—the most common form of this is the base. There are two other forms:

1. ending in *-hi*, *-hṛ*, *-i* *-ṛ* (shortening the preceding vowel if it is long) for all bases,
2. ending in *-ē* for bases in *-a* and *-ā*.

- (d) *Oblique plural*—this ends in *-nha*, *-nhā*, *-na*, *-nhi*, *-nhṛ*, *-ni*. The termination *-nha*, *-nhā* is common in Jāyasī and Tulsi, while *-na* in Nūr Muhammad.

Those in *-nhi*, *-nhi*, *-ni* are rare and are found in Tulsī only.

§ 191. I have taken statistics of the forms of the oblique case in the first five hundred lines of each of the three texts. The results are shown below.

(a) Jāyasī

Obl. sg.—there are 30 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 22 end in *-hi*, 4 in *-hi*, 3 in *-i* and 1 in *-hā*. The last case (*ekai nayanāhā* 'by one eye only' p. 29) has *-ā* for *-i* or *-i* (which is expected) probably for the sake of rhyme in the second half of the line (*māhā*).

obl. pl.—there are 18 cases of obl. pl. of which 13 end in *-hā*, 4 in *-nā* and 1 in *-nhi*. The last case is :

*janatī sabhā deotankhi kai jūrī*, p. 55 'as if an assembly of the gods had assembled'. Here it appears that the feminine gender of the word *sabhā* has affected the form of *deotankhi* (expected *deotankhā*).

(b) Tulsī

Obl. sg.—there are 20 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 9 end in *-hi* and 11 in *-hi*.

Obl. pl.—of the 6 cases 4 end in *-hā* and 2 in *-ni*.

The latter are the cases where the connected feminine words appear to have influenced the form of the oblique. e.g., *nija nija mukhāni kahi nija hōni*, p. 4 'have described their birth by their own mouths'—here *hōni* is feminine; *sabari gīdhā susēvakani sugati dīnhi raghunāthā*, p. 15 'the Lord of the Raghus gave bliss to his good servants the S'abara woman and the vulture'—here *sugati* is feminine.

But in one case *muninhā prathama hari-kīrati gāi*, p. 10 'the hermits first sang the fame of Hari' the feminine gender of *kīrati* has not affected the form of the oblique.

Also in the following cases of *-i* forms no contamination of any feminine noun is present :

*karakamalani* 'lotus-hands' p. 202, *sisani* 'on the heads' p. 202, *nija āsramani* 'in their hermitages' p. 210,

*sabanki* 'all', p. 210, *sāvakanī* 'to the servants' p. 230, *nayanani* 'with eyes', p. 239, *kōlanhi* 'the kōls', p. 245, *-sikani* 'with drops', p. 247 and *sāṭhanhi* 'the rogues', p. 284.

(c) *Nūr Muhammad*—

obl. sg.—There are 30 cases of obl. sg. (excepting the base form used as such) of which 5 end in *-hi*, 4 in *-ḥi*, 1 in *-i*, 7 in *-ṭi*, 1 in *-ṣi* and 12 in *-ṣi*.

obl. pl.—There are 12 cases all of which end in *-na*. We thus see that *Nūr Muhammad* comes very near the practice of Modern Awadhi in dispensing with the *-h-* of the termination.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 192. There are two cases : direct and oblique.

The direct is used to denote (a) the subject (b) the inanimate direct object and (c) the vocative. For instance :

(a) *kutawar marī gar* 'the dog died', *kutawar marī ger* 'the dogs died', *garī jartī hai* 'the cow is going', *garī jartī hai* 'the cows are going'

(b) *ghar nō barāu* 'do not burn the house', *ghar nō jārāu* 'do not burn the houses'; *āīkhī dīoxī qārāu* 'wash the eye', *āīkhī dīoxī qārāu* 'wash the eyes'

(c) *larikawar rex* 'O boy'.

§ 193. The direct is used to denote an animate object in the case of the following verbs :

1. 'to milk'—e.g., *garī (or) garī dūfāu* 'milk the cow (or) cows'.
2. 'to beg for'—e.g., *raī ja sē bhāīśī (or) bhāīśī māīgeu* 'did you beg for the buffalo (or) buffaloes from the king?'
3. 'to take'—e.g., *tum gāīar leu māī bhāīśī* 'you take the cow, and I the buffaloes'.
4. 'to bring'—e.g., *mājūr lāeu?* 'did you bring the labourers?'
5. 'to give'—e.g., *ham kar carī adomī deū* 'give me four men'.

6. 'to steal'—e.g., **uz chageriz corazwatj rafi** 'he was stealing some goats'.
7. 'to stake, to win or to lose a wager'—e.g., **uz apanj moſaruar dērupō dſarti hai** 'he stakes his wife' **jo ham bſaĩsiz haxriz** 'if I lose the buffaloes', **tau tum gariz jirtau** 'then you win the cows'.
8. 'to capture'—e.g., **gſorxaz pakarti hai** 'he catches the horses', **uz ghoſawaz dſiſe liſeſj** 'he caught hold of the horse'.
9. 'to kill as game'—e.g., **uz macheriz maxrti hai** 'he catches the fish'.
10. 'to eat as meat'—e.g., **uz bakeraz kharťj hai** 'he eats goat'.

§ 194. The oblique is used with the various positions. For instance :

(a) the singular

with **ko** (accusative)

**tum aponez larka ko maxreu** 'you beat your son',

with **se** (instrumental)

**maĩ dāṇḍa se marreũ** 'I beat with the stick',

with **ko** (dative)

**uz māgata ko khari ko diſiſj** 'he gave to the beggar something to eat',

with **se** (ablative)

**birawa se partaz girez** 'the leaves fell from the tree',

with **ki** (genitive)

**rām ki lāṅgiar marj gai** 'Rām's daughter died'.

with **me** (locative)

**amkhorawa me duxdſiq naziz hai** 'there is no milk in the cup'.

(b) the plural

with **ko** (accusative)

**ui aponez larikan ko kberdj diſinij ſai** 'he has turned out his sons'.

with **se** (instrumental)

**phuzlan se bagiaz maſſakatj ſai** 'the garden is fragrant *with* the flowers',

with **se** (ablative)

**birawan se partaz jſarex** 'the leaves fell *off* the trees'.

with **ko** (genitive)

**kutawan ke naſi pain hortj haĩ** 'the nails *of* dogs are very sharp'.

with **par** (locative)

**ciraijan par charraz ne calazor** 'do not fire shot *at* the birds'.

§ 195. The oblique is used without a post-position in the following instances :

1. When a word meaning 'for the sake of' or 'near, with' follows, *e.g.*, **tanikai baxt khaxtir** 'for the sake of a little thing', **larikan khaxtir** 'for the sake of boys', **meſaruaz tizr** 'near a woman', **argiz tizr** 'near the fire'.

2. When a word meaning 'through (the way of)' follows, *e.g.*, **dſūaxraz qagar** 'through the ventilator', **panaxran qagar** 'through the pipes'.

3. When the noun is repeated and gives a locative sense, *e.g.*, **gſar gſar laſaxiz bſai** 'there was a quarrel in every home', **gūxwan gūxwan gſurmen** 'wo roamed in all villages'.

4. When the noun means 'force' and gives an instrumental sense, *e.g.*, **jabarjaſtiz uſhaxi laxwax** 'he brought away by force', **mai kar juxtan piſtiſj** 'he beat me with shoes'.

(a) The oblique plural is optionally employed as the subject of such transitive verbs as are based on the participle, *e.g.*, **bamſanan** (or **baxmſan**)

**sab karmṇ bigairi diḥini** 'the Brahmins spoiled the whole business'.

§ 196. The dialects of other districts agree with Lakhimpuri in the use of the direct and oblique cases.

In the Eastern dialects the obl. pl. case is regularly employed as the subject, e.g., **gaijan khaḥḥāṭ** 'the cows will eat', **bḥaujaijan kaḥḥar** 'the sisters-in-law said'.

### Terminations of Cases

§ 197. (a) *Direct singular*—The simple noun-stem, without any terminations, forms this case, excepting masculine stems ending in consonants to which **-ṇ** is added, e.g., **sārp** : **sārpṇ**.

(b) *Direct plural*—All the dialects use the simple noun-stem for this case, except that the feminine stems ending in **-i** (**i**) substitute **-iz** for **-i** (**i**) and the feminine stems ending in consonants add **-ai**. For instance **gari** : **gariz**, **ārkhi** : **ārkhir**; **baḥar** : **baḥarai**; **baras** : **barasai**; **kitarb** : **kitarbai**.

The dialects of Bahraich (B.), Gonda (G.), Fyzabad (Fy.), Sultanpur (Sl.) and Partabgarh (P.) have a general direct plural case ending in **-ai** which is more often used than the simple noun-stem. For instance : **ṭhakurwar** : **ṭhakurwai**; **corwar** : **corowai**; **larikai nirko aḥḥāṭ** 'the boys are good' (Sl.), **larikiai nirko aḥḥāṭ** 'the girls are good' **kutaunai marj ger** 'the dogs died'.

§ 198. (a) *Oblique singular*—All the dialects use the simple noun-stem as this case except that the final **-i** is pronounced as **i**. The bases in **u**, however, substitute **-i** for **-u**, e.g., **pāru** dir. sg., **pāri** obl. sg., except **gāru** which remains so in both the cases.

NOTE.—The obl. sg. of consonantal bases ends in the consonant but in slack pronunciation a final **-ə** is audible. It is impossible to know if like dir. sg. **-ṇ**, this **-ə** is whispered (see § 115).

(b) *Oblique plural*—In all the dialects this is formed by adding (1) **-An** to stems ending in a consonant (e.g., **sāxp** : **sāxpan**; **sīzg** : **sīzgan**) or in **-u** (the **-u-** then changes to **-w̃'**) (e.g. **gōiū** : **gōiūwan**; **nāzū** : **nāzūwan**) and

(2) **-n** to stems ending in other vowels; the whispered vowel becomes full and the long becomes short (e.g., **kūōr** : **kūān**; **ēikhi** : **āikhi**; **nādziz** : **nādzin**; **nāzuz** : **nāzun**; **pāzrez** : **pāzren**).

**NOTE**.—The dialects **Fy**, **Sl.** and **P.** appear to add **-An** (instead of **-n**) to **-uz** stems also (e.g., **qarkuz** : **qarkuan**). This, however, is a case of changing the stem to its lengthened form in **-a** and not of any difference in formation (**qarkuz** > **qarkuar** and then the termination **-n** is added).

### Other Cases

§ 199. The dialects possess a vocative plural case which is used to call more than one person. It is formed by adding **-Au** to a stem ending in a consonant or **-u**, and **-u** to a noun ending in any other vowel. Before the termination, the vowel undergoes the modification as mentioned above § 198 (b). For instance :

**kāfiar** : **kāfiaran**. The enclitics **rez** (masc.) and **rix** (fem.) are often added after this case, or **orez** (masc.) **oriz** (fem.) before it (e.g., **orez kāfiarau palkiz ufhazox** 'O! *kahars* lift up the palanquin' **oriz mōfiaruu gaunaix gazox** 'O! women sing the songs').

(a) All the dialects possess this case but such of them as have a direct plural case in **-ai** § 197 (b) use it oftener as the vocative plural. For instance : **kāfiarau** or **kāfiarawai palkijaz ufhazox mōfiarawai gaunaix gazox**. These dialects differ also in the use of the vocative enclitic inasmuch as they use **rez** or **orez** irrespective of the gender of the noun being masculine or feminine. **G.** and **B.** avoid using the enclitic altogether.

<sup>1</sup> Part I § 154.

§ 200. The nouns **janaz** 'person' and **larikazbarrax** 'issue' have the direct plural case as **janox** and **larikazbarrax** in all the dialects. Similarly the nouns **sau** 'hundred', **paru** 'a quarter', **nāzū** 'name' **dāzū** 'chance' have **sai**, **pazi**, **nāzi**, **dāzi** respectively as their direct plural case. The simple stem does not serve as this case for **janaz** and **larikazbarrax**, but it does optionally in case of **sau**, **paru**, **nāzū**, **dāzū**.

§ 201. An instrumental case ending in **-en** is found in such adverbial expressions as **pijarsen** 'out of thirst', **bfiurkhen** 'out of hunger', **qlaren** 'out of fear', used with or without the enclitic **maxrez** 'on account of' after them, e.g., **ham pijarsen marj gen** or **ham pijarsen maxrez marj gen** 'I died out of thirst'.

The Eastern dialects do not possess this case and use the oblique plural for it (Lmp. **pijarsen** Py. **pijarsan**, Lmp. **bfiurkhen**, P. **bfiurkhan**.)

§ 202. A case expressing motion towards a thing is found ending in **-ai** (after nouns ending in a consonant or **u**) or **-i** (after those ending in any other vowel) in such usages as **ui gfiarai gez** 'he went home', **larikaz madarsai arex** 'the boys came to the school', **tum ix gāizwai azjou** 'you came to this village'. This is used without the postposition.

The Eastern dialects do not possess this case and use the locative in **-ox** (mentioned below) instead. For instance : Sl. records **gfiarex gaz**, while a specimen of 17 miles West of it records **gfiarai**. G. has **jaun kuchy mūflez arwax** 'whatever came to the mouth'.

(a) The consonantal bases indicating inanimate objects have a locative case (by adding **-e**) in all the dialects. This form is mostly used for the locative (generally without postpositions) but sometimes to indicate other case-relations also. For instance : **ui duaxrez baiḡh baṡ** 'he is sitting outside (on the door)' **qāizṡu hamorex marṡhez parax** 'the fine



fell to my lot (on my forehead) 'waz hamorex samafex  
 nikari aziz 'she came out in my presence', gfiarimem  
 na nikarau 'do not come out in the sun', ham tum kar  
 saponem derkhen 'I saw you in a dream', razjake  
 kaznem baxt kafi dzu 'Speak the word in the king's  
 ear', ui kaunex kazme ko gez 'for what business has he  
 gone?' duaire ko gez, 'he has gone outside', baraxt  
 janwarsek aziz 'the bridegroom's party came to the  
 reception-house', bijazfek saranjaim karau 'make  
 the arrangements for the marriage'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 203. The direct case is the result of the old Nominative-accusative, the direct singular of the singular and the plural of the plural. Thus :

**sāzpa** represents Skt. *sarpaḥ* : *sarpaṃ*, Pkt. *sappā* : *sappam*, Ap. and E. Aw. *sāpu*, while

**sāzp** represents Skt. *sarpāḥ* ; *sarpān*, Pkt. *sappā* : *sappē*, Ap. *sāpā*, E. Aw. *sāpa*.

**āzkhj** represents Skt. *akṣi*, Pkt. *akkhī*, Ap. *ākhi*, E. Aw. *ākhi*.

**āzkhiz** represents Skt. *akṣiṇi*, Pkt. *akkhīṇ*, Ap. *akkhīr*, E. Aw. *ākhi*.

§ 204. The direct plural of feminine consonantal bases in Western Awadhi and of all bases in Eastern Awadhi should be derived from the ancient neuter plural ending in *-āni*. The adoption of this neuter ending for nouns of animate gender is attested by some Skt. texts and by Bhāsa's Prakrit<sup>1</sup>. Western Awadhi stands between Eastern Awadhi and Western Hindi in this respect. Eastern Awadhi has it for all nouns, Western Awadhi for consonantal feminine bases only while Western Hindi for all feminine bases, e.g., Hindustānī *laṅkiz* : *laṅkijāz*; *oxrat* : *oxrataĩ*.

<sup>1</sup> Prutz : Bhāsa's Prakrit, pp. 26-27.

§ 205. The direct plural of *-ā* bases (*cīṭerā* : *cīṭerē*) in *ē* goes back to the Pkt. accusative ending in *-ē*<sup>1</sup>, and pronominal Nominative ending *-ē*. It represents the type *citrakarakāḥ* : *citrakarakāḥ* : *citrakarakān*, *cittayaraṭ* : *cittayaraē*. Such forms, however, are very rare in Awadhi and might be loan words from Western dialects. Chatterji derives these from the ancient instrumental plural forms.

§ 206. In Modern Awadhi the traces of distinction between the direct sg. and dir. pl. are found in the case of fem. bases ending in *-ī* (i), e.g. *āṛkhj* 'eye' *āṛkhiz* 'eyes' and masc. consonantal bases (*sāzpq* 'snake' : *sāz* 'snakes'). This is explained by the difference in the origin of the two forms : *āṛkhj* < M.I. *akkhi* and *āṛkhiz* < M.I. *akkhiṃ* or in the case of ancient masculine and fem. forms < *-iṭ*, e.g., *uggiṭ*—modern *azgi* 'fires', *sāzpq* < M.I. *sappṭ* and *sāz* < M.I. *sappā*.

Distinction between the direct sg. and the obl. sg. is found only in the case of masc. consonantal bases (e.g., *sāzpq* : *sāz*) and the fem. bases in *-ī* (i). This is also explained by a difference in their origin, the direct being the original nom.-acc.-voc. and the oblique the ancient genitive or dative.

Though other nouns have lost the distinctions to-day, the traces which we find above clearly point to distinctions in the origin.

§ 207. What is the origin of Early Awadhi obl. sg. *-hi*? Chatterji (§499) explains the *-hi* by a supposed I.E. *\*-dhi* (> Greek *-oi*), Pāli *-dhi*, a suggestion put forward originally by Hoerule and accepted by Grierson. But this case is not operative in Pāli (the only available form is *sabbadhi* quoted by Wackernagel). It is, therefore, unlikely that such a common case as *-hi* which we find in abundance in Early Awadhi should come from *-dhi*. I have, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Pischel · Gram. Prakrit, sec. 367a.

preferred to derive it from the pronominal locative in *-amin* > *mhi* > *h̥i*, *hi*.

I suggested elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that the Early Awadhi *-h̥i*, *-hi* might have come from the ancient plural instrumental ending *-bhis*. That, however, does not explain the nasalisation. Besides the transfer of a plural termination to singular remains unexplained<sup>2</sup>.

§ 208. The derivation of the Modern Aw. obl. sg. may be had from the ancient genitive or the dative. The distinction between these two cases is not found in nouns other than *-a* bases in MIA. It would, however, be preferable to derive it from the genitive which was in more common use, *gharassa* > *gharasa* > *gharaha* > Early Aw. *ghara* > Modern Awadhi *g̥h̥ar*.

The passage of M.I. *-ss-* to late M.I. *-h-* and then its disappearance has a parallel in the forms of the Simple Future : *karissai* > *karihai* > Early Aw. *karihi* and Mod. Aw. *kariz*.

As Turner has shown<sup>3</sup>, a sound in terminations is likely to have a more rapid (and possibly different) change than the corresponding sound in the body of words.

NOTE.—The nouns in *-a* (*g̥ārū* etc.) are all in the dir. case, and the dir. is used with postpositions also. But the use of the dir. thus in place of the obl. appears to be quite a recent development. Even to-day we find some traces of the obl. sg. here : *hamar̥ jiu* dir. but *hamar̥ez jiz̥ mar̥, nar̥ū : nar̥ī, dar̥ū : dar̥ī*.

§ 209. The oblique plural in Modern Awadhi in *-a*, Early Awadhi *-n̥ha*, *-n̥h̥a*, *-n̥hi*, *-n̥h̥i*, *-ni* is based on the ancient genitive plural, Skt. *-nām* : Pkt. *-ṇam*. The *-i* is possibly due to contamination with feminine forms (see § 191).

<sup>1</sup> Noun-declension in the Rāmāyan of Tulsīdās (Ind. Ant. LI, 1923, p. 5.).

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Bloch sees the possibility of a secondary affix in *-h̥i*.

<sup>3</sup> R. L. Turner : J. R. A. S., 1927, p. 227 and ff., also see J. Bloch : B. S. L. 1928, p. 4.

An objection to this derivation of the oblique plural is that the *-n* of terminations survives in most modern languages only as a simple nasalisation (Marāṭhī *dēvāṃ*, Hindustānī *ghoṣṭōr*, Rājasthānī *ghoṣṭār*). But we find the full *n* surviving in the oblique of some Indo-Aryan languages, viz., in Kāshmirī (L.S.I., VIII, part II, page 271), Sindhi (L.S.I., VIII, part I, p. 25), Singhalese and Gypsy and to some extent in Bengali (Chatterji, sec. 486).

The *n* of neuter plural ending in *-āni*, *-īni* has been lost, but there is a difference between the treatment of *-āni*, *-īni* on the one hand and of *-ānām*, etc., on the other, noticeable in the Pkts. The former became *-āin*, *-īin*, etc., while the latter are found as *ānaṃ*, *īnaṃ*, etc. This differentiation has been kept up by Modern Awadhi *-Ai* < *-āni* and *-n* < *-nām*.

The Early Awadhi *-h* and *-hi* can be explained only as addition to *-na*, owing to the influence of the general oblique singular in *-hi*. Aw. *-nh* could come from *-nn-* also (cf. Marāṭhī *dinhala* : Pkt. *diṇṇa*, Braj *dizṇḍ*) but no ancient case form in *-nn-* is available.

§ 210. The vocative plural case of Modern Awadhi in *-au* (corresponding with Western Hindi *-ōr*) is derived from ancient Nominative-vocative plus the enclitic *-āḥ*. This enclitic was used in the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa and by constant use came to form a part of the substantive. The loss of *-h-* and the reduction of *-āḥ* to *-u* are normal features.

§ 211. The plurals *janex* (sg. *janax*) < *janaḥ* and *baxrex* (sg. *baxrax*) < *bālaḥ* are loan-words from a dialect where *-ā* bases form the plural in *-ē* (Cf. § 200). A larger use of these plurals is found in Tulsidās.

§ 212. The plurals *sai* (< *satāni*), *naṛī* (< *namani*), *darī* (< *dāmāni*), *parī* (< *pādāni*) are survivals of ancient neuter plurals.

§ 213. The instrumental in *-en* goes back to *-ēna* with elongated forms *\*qaraēṇa* > *qaren* 'out of fear.' The

survival of nasal after a front vowel -*ē*- has a parallel in Kāshmirī also<sup>1</sup>.

§ 214. The Modern Awadhī case in -*ai* expressing motion towards a thing, represented by Early Awadhī -*hī*, -*hi*, -*i* goes back to Skt. ending -*smi* which is found in Prakrite variously as -*mmi* and -*mhi* added to nouns alternately with -*ē* (*puttē* or *puttamhi*, *puttammi*). Nouns with this termination indicate other senses, besides locative, in Early Awadhī—chiefly Objective-dative. Modern Western Awadhī has retained this case for expressing motion only. Eastern Awadhī uses the locative in -*ex* to denote this sense.

This case is represented by the dative of Sanskrit (*grhāya gataḥ*); but -*āya* would phonetically become -*ā*, and not -*ahi* or -*ai*.

§ 215. The locative case in -*ex* of Modern Awadhī, a few cases of which are found in early Awadhī as well, goes back to the ancient locative singular in -*ē* of elongated forms (*dvārakē*: *duaxrex*). The final -*ē* of *dvārē*, *grhē*, etc., would phonetically become -*i*<sup>2</sup> in modern IA, but -*aē* of middle-Indian would survive as -*ē*. The predominantly locative use of this case in Modern Awadhī warrants the derivation from an ancient Locative.

<sup>1</sup> J. Bloch : B. S. L. 1928 p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> as attested by old Rājasthānī texts.

## CHAPTER II

### ADJECTIVES

§ 216. In Awadhi, the adjectives are very seldom employed and so we find a very small vocabulary of qualitative adjectives. The pronominal adjectives of possession and of quantity are generally in use; they will be treated of under Pronouns. The numerals also have been dealt with separately.

In *Gululāicāli kathā* (Texts No. I) in the first paragraph we find 36 nouns but only three adjectives—all pronominal, and eight numerals. Similarly whenever specimens of Awadhi have been searched through it is very seldom that the adjectives have been found.

### Gender and Number

#### A. EARLY AWADHI.

§ 217. (a) J. has two genders of the adjective and generally the feminine adjective is used with the feminine noun, e.g., *ghani tbiḷi* 'dense *Imli*', *ghana tāra* 'dense palm' (p. 42), *hariara akāsa* 'green sky' (p. 40), *bipati bahu ghanī* 'very dense (great) calamity' (p. 5), *karui bēlī* 'bitter creeper' (p. 6), *āgari karā* 'best digit' (p. 22), *khiranī mīḥi* 'sweet *khirni*' (p. 41); but *navāḷi pauri para* 'on the 9th gatepost' (p. 64), *kinhesi likha mīḥa rasa-bharī* 'he created sugarcane, sweet and juicy' (p. 6), where a masculine adjective has been used with a feminine noun.

The -ā adjective changes to -ē in plural direct and obl. and sg. obl., e.g., *jei pādḥata sikhē* 'those who are well-read and learned' (p. 15), *dui dīpaka ājiārē* 'two bright lamps' (p. 25), *apanē apand ghara* 'in one's own house' (p. 67); *kaunau karē dhūma au kārē* 'some of them were green,

dusky and black' (p. 69), *dēkhi tinha thād/hē* 'seeing them standing' (p. 63).

(b) T. has two genders and the distinction is rigorously maintained. For instance :

*āgila kāju* 'coming business' (p. 162), *āgili bāta* 'coming thing' (p. 164), *dukhu bara* 'heavy misery' (p. 165), *sapatha buri* 'a heavy curse' (p. 168), *bidhi ati dāhina* 'the Creator is very favourable' (p. 163), *dāhini ākhi* 'right eye' (p. 165), *manabhāvati bātā* 'a pleasant thing' (p. 167), *manabhāvata (ñi kā)* 'a pleasant (boon)' (p. 168), *avadha ujāri* 'desolate Ayodhya' (p. 169).

The *-ā* adjective changes to *-ē* for plural direct and obl. and for singular obl. For instance : *rāma-abhiṣēka suhāvā* 'beautiful coronation of Rāma' (p. 160), *bacana suhāē* 'beautiful words' (p. 159), *pachiṭē pahara* 'in the last watch (of night)' (p. 172).

The adjective has the case-ending like Mod. Awadhi (vide § 221) when the noun is understood, e.g., *barah abhiṣēkhū* 'coronation to the elder' (p. 161).

The plural noun when indicating a single individual or thing (vide § 175) has a plural adjective, e.g., *bharata bhōrē* 'the simple Bharata' (p. 171).

(c) N. observes the distinction of gender only in *-ā* and *-ī* adjectives. For instance : *piyārā* : *piyārī*, *gāḍhī* *gāḍha* 'a difficult knot' (p. 4), *bhaṭi kīrata* 'good fame' (p. 8). In other cases the masculine form is used for the fem. noun also, e.g., *cintā āna* 'other anxiety' (p. 11), *nā ati lāba* 'not very tall (princess)' (p. 19), *mīṭha hōi likhanī* 'the pen (fem.) may become sweet' (p. 13).

The *-ā* adjective changes to *-ē* for the plural, e.g., (*tārē*) *ōjīārē* 'bright stars'.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 218. In Lakhimpurī, adjectives as a rule have two genders : masculine and feminine, e.g., *nīrk* : *nīrkī* 'good',

**nizk larikaz** 'good boy', **nizki laŕiŕijaz** 'good girl'.

The feminine is formed by

(a) adding **-i** to the masculine ending in a consonant, e.g., **gizl** : **gizli** 'wet', **buzŕi** : **buzŕiŕi** 'old', **pastar** : **pastari** 'thin'.

(b) changing **-az** to **-iz** in case of a masculine ending in **-az**, e.g., **thorraz** : **thorriz** 'little', **baŕaz** : **baŕiz** 'big', **lambaz** : **lambiz** 'tall'.

Other adjectives (in **-i** **bazdi** 'useless', in **-iz** **bŕiazriz** 'heavy', in **-uz** **karuz** 'bitter') do not change for gender.

NOTE.—The change for gender in adjectives in **-uz** (**karuz** : **karuiz**) sometimes noticed in the speech of the literate, is due to the influence of the literary speech Hindustani (Hin. **kaŕuaz** : **kaŕuiz**).

Adjectives of Persian origin, e.g., **kharazb** < *kharāb* **laxjak** < *lāyaq*, **laxl** < *lāl*, **sapert** < *safaid* do not change for gender. The following also do not change for gender :

**uŕazr** 'desolate', **kariar** 'black'.

§ 219. The distinction of gender is lost progressively as we proceed to the East. The Western dialects (Lmp. S., L., U. and F.) observe it as detailed above. For instance :

L. has **choŕŕ bŕiaziz** 'younger brother' (masc.), **choŕŕi rariŕi** 'small kingdom' (fem.); **thorriz bafŕut ciz basto** 'a few things' (fem.), **thorraz khari lexiz** 'I should eat a little' (masc.). U. has **tab sareŕiaŕai risaŕi hoxi laxŕi** 'then the sisters-in-law began to be angry' (fem.), **buzŕi kaŕai laxg** 'the old people began to say' (masc.), **uz ŕhazŕi bŕiaz** 'he stood (lit. became standing)' (Masc.).

F. has **buzŕi azdmiz raŕiaŕi** 'there were old people' (masc.), **buzŕiŕi meŕioraruz raŕiaŕi** 'there were old women' (fem.).

The Central dialects (B., Br. and R.) are less particular about gender than the Western dialects. For instance :



B. a specimen of 12 miles West to Bahraich records a change for feminine in **ham miṭhariz ab saigarī chozī dīn karab** 'I shall now leave more (a larger quantity of) sweetmeats' and no change in **paṣīl meṣṣairuz** 'the first wife'. While a specimen of 20 miles East to Bahraich records change for feminine in -**az** adjectives (e.g., **bḥātoraz kariz**, **kaljugofiz** 'the killer of the husband, belonging to *Kaliyuga* (feminine)', it does not record any change in consonantal adjectives (e.g., **hamar aurat** 'my wife', **hamar jindagiz** 'my life' (both feminine).

Br. and R. have no change in the singular of consonantal adjectives (e.g., **pastar swārtar** 'a thin stick' (masculine), **pastar chāz** 'a thin stick' (feminine), **cizkan loztar** 'a smooth jug' (masculine), **cizkan baṭuz** 'a smooth pot' (feminine), but do have it in the plural (e.g., **gagoriz juṛ hai** 'the jar is cool' (sg. feminine), **gagoriz juṛiz haī** 'the jars are cool' (pl. feminine). The distinction of gender is, however, observed in the case of -**az** adjectives, e.g., **lambaz** (masculine) **lambiz** (feminine) 'tall'.

The Eastern dialects (G., Fy., Sl., P. and A.) do not observe clearly any distinction of gender in adjective. For instance :

G. a specimen of Balrampur records **raṇḍiz calaz gai**, 'the prostitute went away', where **calaz** (masculine) qualifies (feminine) **raṇḍiz** without any change.

Fy. **nirk larikaz** 'good boy' (masculine), **nirk larikiniz** 'good girl' (feminine), **gizl maxtiz** 'wet clay' (feminine).

Sl. **iz pazniz ṭhaṇḍī ḥai** 'this water is cold' (feminine), **iz pīṣān gizl ḥai** 'this flour is wet' (masculine), **iz sazniz gizl ḥai** 'this fodder is wet' (feminine).

P. **hamar samai raṣiz** 'my time was' (feminine).

The Eastern dialects avoid the use of -**az** (masculine), -**iz** (feminine) (**baraz** : **bariz**) adjectives by substituting

consonantal adjectives for them, e.g., **nirk** for **aczhiz**; **lārb** for **lambaz**, **lambiz** and **jexth** for **bağaz**, **bağiz**).

NOTE—1. In none of the dialects, is the distinction of gender based on the animate or inanimate nature of the object qualified. For instance the adjective **partar** 'thin' is applied to masculine nouns (animate or inanimate) in Lakhimpurī and **partari** 'thin' to feminine nouns—**partar manai** 'a thin man', **partar bāz** 'a thin bamboo', **partari meñarua** 'a thin woman', **partari laxthiz** 'a thin stick'.

NOTE—2. When a plural noun is used to show respect for an individual, the adjective qualifying it is plural (e.g., **iz thaxer-daxr bağer hañ ui chorj** 'this police-officer is high, that is low', here the adjectives qualifying the police-officer are in the plural).

§ 220. The dialectal differences regarding the case and number are generally similar to those of gender—as we proceed towards the East the distinction no longer exists. B., for instance, does not modify the adjective: **razm acshaz** (expected **acshex**) **razjaz raflex**, **khañjaz** (expected **khañxex**) **azme ko bafiaz dery**, **kūarj** (expected **kūariz**) **biñjan ko no mazrau**. Of the Central dialects R. and Br. modify the adjective: Br. **juz**: **juxex**, **gorr**: **gorrex**, R. **suzkh**: **suzkhe**: **suzkhiz**). The modification of **-az** adjectives (to **-ex**) is noticed in P. and Fy. here and there, otherwise it is absent in all Eastern dialects.

§ 221. The adjective may be used as a noun when the noun used previously is understood in subsequent uses, e.g., **kaun larikaz azwaz** 'which son has come?', **bağaz azwaz hai** 'the big (one) has come'.

In such cases the adjective has the necessary case modifications like nouns, e.g., **acshex larikaz azi gajex**, **kharazb azwatj hoiflañ** 'good boys have arrived, the bad (ones) must be coming'. **Acshen ko azwai difleu kharaz-**

**ban ke durijazi dīfēu** 'let the good (ones) come in, turn the bad (ones) out'.

NOTE.—Here the plural obl. terminations **-n** and **-An** have been added to the adjectives. It should be noticed that the plural termination is added to the modified form where it exists, e.g., **acīhez** : **acīhen** in Lakhimpurī but **acīhaz** : **acīhan** in l'y.

### Stem

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 222. In all the texts the short forms of **-ā** and **-ī** adjectives (**-a** and **-i**) are frequently found, particularly in Tulaidās in whom the long (**-ā** and **-ī**) are comparatively rare. For instances:

(a) J. *ūcī pavāri ūca abāsū* 'high was the gate and high the residence' (p. 55), *koi bhikhārī* 'some beggar' (p. 5), *rājā bhaē bhikhārī* 'the king became a beggar' (p. 60), *saba śhādha pahārā* 'all the hills standing' (p. 69).

(b) T. *sayāni* 'clever', *ujāri* 'desolate', *lagana bhali* 'auspicious time' (p. 161), *phuri bāni* 'true speech' (p. 164), *lāgi madhu* 'the honey which was present' (p. 162), *candini rāti* 'moon-lit night' (p. 162), *nīci karatūfi* 'lowly action' (p. 162), *anamani hasi* 'thou art dejected' (p. 162), *kāri jann sūpini*, 'as if a black serpent' (p. 162), *jhūṣhi phuri bātā* 'false and true words' (p. 163), *karui mai māi* 'I am bitter, O mother!' (p. 163), *bari cūka* 'great mistake' (p. 164), *rāni risāni* 'the angry queen' (p. 167), *sūdha subhāpā* 'a straightforward nature' (p. 165), *bhōra subhāū* 'a simple nature' (p. 168), *bara chōṣa* 'big and small' (p. 170), *śhārhi śhārhi* 'standing'.

(c) N. *ahai śhārha* 'is standing' (p. 4), *kou śhārha hai* 'somebody is standing' (p. 16), *prēma gārha* and *gārha* 'great (lit. thick) affection' (p. 13), *rāja rahā mīṣhā* 'sweet was the kingship' (p. 20) and *mīṣha hōi likhanī* 'the pen may become sweet' (p. 20).

When the feminine adjective in *-ī* is shortened in *N*, it takes the same form as the masculine, e.g., *paḥīlā rāta* 'first night' (p. 10) and *paḥila rāta* 'first night' (p. 12).

## B. MODERN AWADHI.

§ 223. The *-az* (feminine *-iz*) adjectives have sometimes long forms and longer forms, like the noun, e.g., *baṛaz* : *baṛakaz*, *baṛakawaz*, *baṛiz* : *baṛakiz* : *baṛakijaz*. The Eastern dialects use these long and longer forms oftener than the Western dialects. The *-k-* of these long forms is pronounced long whenever particular emphasis is to be put on the attribute, e.g., *baṛakaz* or *baṛakzaz*, *baṛakiz* : *baṛakziz*.

NOTE.—Sometimes, particularly in Bgh., an elongation in *-fiāz* is found, e.g., *purānifiāz*, *rogifiāz*.

§ 224. In Lakhimpurī, masculine adjectives ending in a consonant (e.g., *kūāz* 'unmarried') and in *-az* (e.g., *baṛaz* 'big') and feminine adjectives in *-ī* (e.g., *kūāzī* 'unmarried') have modified forms to express the direct plural and oblique singular and plural cases.

The modified forms are obtained by adding *-ex* to consonantal adjectives (*kūāzrex*) and by substituting *-ex* for *-az* in the case of *-az* adjectives (*baṛex*) and *-iz* for *-ī* in the case of *-ī* adjectives (*kūāzriz*).

The following instances illustrate the use of the modified forms attributively:

Direct singular—

*kūāzrex laṛikaz azjex* 'the unmarried boys came', *baṛex birowaz girī gex* 'the big trees have fallen down', *kūāzriz laūṛijaz azīz* 'the unmarried girls came.'

Oblique singular—

*kūāzrex laṛika ko bolāzox* 'call the unmarried boy', *baṛex laṛika ko bolāzox* 'call the older boy', *kūāzriz laūṛija ko bolāzox* 'call the unmarried girl'.

Oblique plural—

**kūāzrex larikan ko bolāzox** 'call the unmarried boys',

**baḡex larikan ko bolāzox** 'call the older boys',

**kūāzrix lāūḡijan ko bolāzox** 'call the unmarried girls'.

NOTE.—The unmodified form of masculine consonantal adjectives (**kūāzr**) is also used to qualify a direct plural case of the noun, e.g., **kūāzr larikaz āzox** 'the unmarried boys came'.

The modified form is less in use predicatively; it comes with feminine always (**ui lāūḡijaz kūāzrix haī** 'those girls are unmarried', **ui lāūḡijan ko kūāzrix batarwatī haī** 'they say those girls are unmarried') and with the masculine Nom. plural when the adjective is an **-āz** base (**ui larikaz ācīhez haī** 'those boys are good'). Everywhere else the unmodified adjective is used.

### Degrees of Comparison

§ 225. Awadhi has no separate forms for the degrees of comparison in adjective.

The sense of the comparative is expressed by (a) putting the compared (standard) thing in the ablative (obl. plur. **se**) (e.g., **iū larikaz ui seḡ goxr haī** 'this boy is fairer than that', **uz larikaz iz seḡ kariāz haī** 'that boy is darker than this') or by (b) using some such word as **jārdāz**, **bāḡut**, **sāigār** meaning 'more' and **kām** meaning 'less' (e.g., **iū larikaz ui seḡ jārdāz goxr haī** 'this boy is fairer than that', **uz lārika iz seḡ kām goxr haī** 'that boy is less fair than this').

The comparison may be made with the rest of the class, e.g., **iū larikaz sab seḡ goxr haī** 'this boy is fairer than all the rest'.

The sense of the superlative is expressed by the simple adjective preceded by such expressions as **sab māx** 'amongst all', **sab ādmīn mō** 'amongst all men', **sab larikan mō**

'amongst all boys', e.g., in **larikar sab mar nirk hai** 'this boy is the best of all boys', **Fy. iz larikar saban mar goir hai** 'this boy is fairest of all', **B. and G. iz larikar sab mar gorōṣar hai** 'this boy is the fairest of all'—**gorōṣar** means 'fair'.

### C. ORIGIN.

§ 226. The origin of Awadhi adjectives is closely allied to that of the nouns. In OIA and MIA the adjective, unless compounded with the substantive, had the modifications of gender, number and case of the noun qualified. In Modern Awadhi we have traces only of that. It is only the *-ā* adjective which keeps up the modifications to some extent in all Awadhi dialects, in others the base form is generally used.

The masculine oblique singular in *-er* goes back to *-akā* ending like the noun (vide § 215) and the masculine plural in *-er* to the Nom. Acc. plural in *-ā* (Cf. **janer** and pronominal forms). The obl. singular feminine *-ī* and feminine plural in **iz** have the same explanation as the corresponding forms of the noun (vide § 203).

The retention of distinction of gender in *-ā*, *-ī* forms in Eastern Awadhi is intelligible from the fact that a large number of these are ancient participles (past passive) in *-aka* elongated forms. We shall find that the distinction of gender in the Verb is maintained only in Participial forms.

We should note that the direct singular and direct plural of consonantal adjectives have different origins, like the noun, **kūār** < *kumārah*, **kūār** < *kumārāḥ*.

The practice of elongating the adjective-stem accords with the general practice of elongating the noun (vide § 177). The long consonant in these forms is used for emphasis.

## CHAPTER III

## NUMERALS

## Cardinals

§ 227. The following are the cardinal numbers :—

Number.	Hindustānī.	Lakṣimpurī.	Other dialects.	Early Awadhī.
1	e:k	e:k	U. yark	J., T., N. ēka.
2	dox	dui		J., T., N. dui.
3	tin	tinj		T. tīni, N. tina.
4	carr	carrj	Br. carr	J., T. cāri, N. cāra (but cāriu).
5	pārc	pārc	Br. parr	J., T., N. pāca.
6	cheṣ, cher	char	...	T. cha.
7	sart	sart	...	J. sāta, N. sāta.
8	arth	arth	...	N. āṭha.
9	no	nau	...	J., N. nau.
10	das	das	...	J., T., N. dasa.
11	gjarraṣ	gerar	{ Fy. gjarar Br. egjarar P. egjarar }	N. egayāraha.

12	barrāṣ	barrax	...	J., N. bāraka.
13	tearraṣ	terraṣ	R. tjarrax	N. tērraka.
14	codāṣ	caudax	...	J., T. caudaka, T. cāridasa.
15	pandraṣ	pandarax	...	J., T. sōraka.
16	soṛḷaṣ	soṛax	R. swarrax Fy. soṛras	N. sōrraka.
17	satiraṣ	satarax	R. satarax	J., N. aṭhāraka.
18	ṭṭharrāṣ	ṭṭharrax	...	
19	onziṣ	onāis ...	R., P. onzāis	
20	biṣ	biṣ	...	J. bīsa.
21	ikiṣ	ekāis ...	R. ekzāis. G. Akzāis.	N. lāisa.
22	bariṣ	baris	...	J. carbiṣ.
23	teriṣ	teris	...	T. pacīsa (-ā).
24	cobiṣ	caubis	R. caurbis	
25	paciṣ	pacis	...	
26	chabiṣ	chabis		
27	satriṣ	sataris		
28	ṭṭharis	ṭṭharis		
29	untis	ontis	Fy. onatris G. wantis	N. vontisa.



Number.	Hindustānī.	Lākṣimpurī.	Other dialects of Modern Awadhī.	Early Awadhī.
30	tīs	tīs	...	N. fisa.
31	ikātrīs	ekotīs	...	T. ikāfisa (-ā).
32	batrīs	batrīs	...	J. batfisa.
33	tētīs	tētīs	...	J. ttīsā.
34	cōtīs	cāūtīs	...	
35	pētīs	pāūtīs	...	N. chāfisa.
36	chātrīs	chātrīs	...	
37	sētīs	sātīs	...	
38	atīs	Atīs	...	N. cālisa.
39	untārīs	ontārīs	...	
40	ca:līs	ca:līs	...	
41	iktārīs	ekotarīs		
42	bajārīs	bajārīs		
43	tētārīs	tētārīs	R. tirtārīs	
44	cawārīs	cāuarīs		
45	pētārīs	pāitarīs	Br. chijā:līs	J. sotālisa.
46	chijārīs	chijārīs	...	N. arhātālisa
47	sētārīs	sātārīs	...	
48	Atārīs	Atārīs	R. ekxampAcārīs	
49	uncārīs	oncārīs		

50	pacars	pacars		T. pacāsa.
51	ikjarwan	ekjarwan	...	
52	barwan	barwan	R. ekjarwan	
53	tirepan	tirpan		
54	cawan	cawan		
55	pachpan	pachpan	G. panjarwan	J. chappana, chapana.
56	chapian	chapian	...	N. satlāwana.
57	satjarwan	satjarwan	...	
58	atjarwan	atjarwan		
59	unsath	onsathī	P. onsath	
60	sath	sathī	...	N. sāṭha.
61	iksath	ekosathī		
62	barsath	barsathī		
63	tirexsath	tirsathī	...	N. trisaṭha.
64	cōsath	cāūsathī		
65	pēsath	pāūsathī		
66	chijarsath	chūrchathī	B. charsathī	
67	sarsath	sarsathī		
68	arsath	arsathī		
69	unfiatar	onfiatarī		
70	satar	satarī	...	N. sattara.
71	ikhatzar	ekhatzarī		
72	bafatar	bafatarī		
73	tifatar	tifatarī		
74	cofatar	caufatarī		

Number.	Hindustāni.	Lakṣimpurī.	Other dialects of Mod. Awadhī.	Early Awadhī.
75	picṣatrar	pachatzari		
76	chiffatrar	chiatzari	Br. cheffatzari. P. cheffatrar.	
77	sathfatrar	sathatzari		
78	Aṭhatrar	Aṭhatzari		
79	unzarsix	onzarsix	Fy. onarsix	
80	Asix	Asix		
81	ikrjarsix	ekrjarsix...	Br. ekzarsix Fy. ekarsix	
82	bajarsix	bajarsix		
83	tirarsix	tirarsix		
84	corarsix	caurarsix	...	J. caurāsī.
85	piejarsix	pacarsix		
86	chijarsix	chiazsix		
87	satzarsix	satzarsix	Fy. satarsi	
88	Aṭharsix	Aṭharsix	Fy. Aṭharsix	
89	nawarsix	nawarsix		
90	navar	nabrez		

91	ikjainvez	ekjainbez ...	Fy. ekainbez Br. ekainbez G. ekkainajez
92	bainvez	bainbez ...	Br. bainabez Fy. bainabez G. bainajez
93	tirainvez	tirainbez ...	
94	corainvez	caurainbez	
95	picjainvez	papcainbez	Fy. pacainabez
96	chijainvez	chajnbez	
97	satjainvez	sattrainbez	P. santainbez
98	Aṭṭhainvez	Aṭṭhainbez	
99	ninjainvez	nijnainbez	G. ninjainajez
100	so ...	sg. sau pl. sai	J. chānabai.  T. saya, N. sau, sai,
1000	hazair	hājajez	J. sakasa.
10000	lakh	lakh	J., T. lākha.
1000000	karoit	karoijez	J. krōḍa, J. karōri, T. karōri.

NOTE.—(1) The Eastern dialects have lost final -i of the numerals.

(2) From 91 to 99 G. has numerals ending in -ajez.

§ 228. As the cardinal numbers as taught at the schools have a tendency to influence and even replace the dialectal forms, I have given the standard (Hindustānī) forms side by side with Awadhi forms.

The people generally count only upto 20, onwards they count by twenties, *e.g.*, **dui bixsīz au carī** '44 i.e., two twenties and four', *Fy.*, **carī bixsīz rupaijāz rafīz hai** 'there were eighty rupees'. Even within twenty, numbers near twenty are expressed by the help of twenty, *e.g.*, **R. ork kam bixs** 'nineteen'.

There is generally the practice of adding **thāī**, **thaur** or **thiz** as help-words after numbers, *e.g.*, **R. carī thāīz larikāz** 'four boys', **parīnthaur rupaijāz** 'fives rupees', **P. ork thiz dārkharā** 'one petition'. A parallel usage in Bengali and Bihari may be noted.

### Ordinals

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 229. The following cases of the use of ordinal numbers are found in the early Awadhi texts :

##### (a) Jāyāsī—

**pahila** 'first', **dōsara** 'second' (p. 1), with which compare **akasara** 'alone' (p. 401), **dōsari dīta** 'on the second side' (p. 561), **tisaraī āi caḥhāī pūjā** 'the third came and offered the worship' (p. 427), **lēsari hatīā** 'third murder' (p. 470), **chaḥhi rāti** 'sixth night' (p. 80), **navat pauri** 'the ninth threshold', **dasaḥ duārā** 'the tenth gate' (p. 64), **dūjī** '2nd date' (p. 21), **caudasi** '14th date' (p. 21).

##### (b) Tulsi—

**ihai saguna phala dūsara nāhi** 'this is just the result of the omen, none else' (p. 160), **dūsara bara** 'the second boon' (p. 168), **dharamu naht dūjā** 'not a second Dharma' (p. 181), **tiya dūjī** 'second (another) woman' (p. 244), **anubhaeu na dūjē** 'no one else has experienced' (p. 158), **tisarē pahara** 'in the third watch' p. (237), **cauthē pana** 'in

the fourth period of age' (p. 174); similarly Greaves<sup>1</sup> cites *dūsari*, *fisara*, *tisari*, *tijai*, *cauthi*, *chaṭha*, *chaṭhē*, *sātava*, *āṭhava*.

(o) Nūr Muhammad

*pahila khaṇḍa* 'first part' (p. 15), *pahilī rāta ki mūrata* 'the image of the first night' (p. 10), *dūsara rāta* 'second night' (p. 10), *dūsara sakhi* 'another friend' (p. 116), *dūsara*, *fisara*, *cauthā* 'second, third, fourth' (p. 71), *dusarē tisarē cauthē bana* 'in the second, third, fourth forest' (p. 27), *cauthē khaṇḍa* 'in the fourth part' (p. 15), *pācaṭh*, *chaṭaṭh*, *sataṭh bana* 'in the fifth, sixth, seventh forest' (p. 28), *dasat dvāra na khōlata kōi* 'no one opens the tenth door' (p. 46), *akasara* 'alone' (p. 51), *dūjē* 'a second time' (p. 59), *duija kai candū* 'the moon of the second date' (p. 38).

B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 230. The ordinal numbers in Lakhimpurī, have two genders, masculine and feminine, like the adjective. Cardinal numbers five and onwards from seven form their ordinals by adding -*Awāz* (masculine) or -*Āiz* (-*wāz* and -*īz* if the number ends in -*az*), e.g., *pāic* : *pācawāz* : *pācāīz*, *bāis* : *baisawāz* : *baisāīz*.

NOTE.—11th to 18th, however, insert a short -*fi*- in the termination, e.g., *gerar* : *gerafiwāz* : *gerafiīz*.

All the other dialects form the ordinals like Lakhimpurī. *Fy.*, however, does not add -*fi*- in 11th and 12th, and *B.* and *G.* add -*fi* before -*wāz* (*gerafiawāz*).

(a) Lakhimpurī forms other ordinals as below :

1st *pāhil*, 2nd *doisar*, 3rd *tisar*, 4th *cauth*, 6th *chaṭhar* and their feminines like ordinary adjectives (§ 218).

*Fy.* has an ordinary form for the 1st (*ekawāz* : *ekaiz*) and the 6th also (*chaṭhawāz* : *chaṭhāīz*). For 2nd

<sup>1</sup> E. Greaves : Grammar of the Ramayan, p. 17.

and 3rd it has **duarkar** and **tisarkar** (**duarkir** and **tisarkir**). Similarly R., Br., P. and Sl.

(b) The dates of the Samvat era have the semi-tatsama forms (**duij**, **tij**, **cauthi**, **paucimix chathi**, **satrimix**, **Atrimix**, **naumix**, **daemix** etc.) as contrasted with those of the Muslim and Christian eras where the ordinary forms are used, e.g., **sataĩ** '7th day of Muharram'.

(c) The order of sons and daughters (1st son, 2nd son etc.) is generally expressed by the following words:

eldest	<b>baṛar</b>	: <b>baṛir</b>
2nd	<b>māṛṣil</b>	: <b>māṛṣilakir</b>
3rd	<b>saṛṣil</b>	: <b>saṛṣilakir</b>
youngest	<b>chorṭ</b>	: <b>choṭekir</b>

### Multiplicatives Etc.

§ 231. Awadhi does not possess special numerals of the type of twice or thrice etc. The sense is, however, given by some word expressive of time usually, for instance, **daxĩ** or **daxũ** in Lakhĩmpurĩ and R., **pherrax**, **bair**, **barjir**, **daxĩ**, **daxũ**, **berijax** in Fy., **berr**, **dẽrũ** in B. and **barjir**, **dawar**, **dapher** in ĩ. Twice is thus resolved to 'two times' **dui daxĩ**; thrice to 'three times' **tirij daxĩ**. For example:

**ham sab janex din bĩare mo eikai dui daxĩ kharitĩ hai, sasĩeb loṛg tau pẽic pẽic chacĩhax daxũ tipan uṛarwatĩ haĩ** 'we eat our food only once or twice a day while the Sabebs eat tiffin five or six times'.

(a) The following words are used for the multiplication tables, in Lakhĩmpurĩ:—

**ekran** 'once', **duinix** 'twice', **tijĩ** 'thrice', **cakrux** 'four times', **paucer** 'five times', **chakar** 'six times', **sator** 'seven times', **Athe** 'eight times', **nawã** 'nine times', **dasarwan** 'ten times'.

Other dialects use similar words. For instance, Fy. has: **duinix**, **tijaxĩ** or **tirakrux**, **cauk**, **paṛjex** **paucer**, **choik**, **nawũĩĩ**, **daṛaxĩĩ**.

(b) For expressing the idea of 'double', 'treble', etc., the word **-gunaz** is added to two, three etc., e.g., **dugunaz** 'double', **tigunaz** 'treble', **caugunaz** 'four times'. R. adds **-gun**, e.g., **dugun**.

Tulsi—*cauguna cāu* 'four-fold enthusiasm' (p. 177).

(c) The following are the most common fractional numerals:—

$\frac{1}{2}$  **paṭwar** or **paru**       $\frac{3}{4}$  **paun**  
 $\frac{1}{3}$  **adṛṣaḥ** or **aḍṛṣaḥ**     $1\frac{1}{2}$  **ṣawazū** or **ṣawaijaz**  
 $1\frac{1}{2}$  **deṛṣi** or **deuṛṣi**     $2\frac{1}{2}$  **ṛṣaḥ** or **ṛṣaijaz**  
 Tulsi—*pahara arhāu* 'for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  watches of the day' (p. 266).

### C. ORIGIN

§ 232. The history of IA numerals has been fully discussed by Bloch (*Langue Marathe* §§ 211-226) and Chatterji (§§ 511-536). Awadhi numerals do not present any special peculiarities. The following points, however, may be noted:—

(a) Cardinals—11 (Br. **egjazraz**, P. **egrijazraz**) in some dialects preserves the original initial *e* while in others it has been lost (Lmp. **gezraz**) leaving only an influence on the vowel of the second syllable (*ekā*—).

16 (Py. **sozras**) is queer on account of the final *-s* which appears to be a recent influence of Sanskrit.

19 (Lmp. **onaṣ**) while **-k-** is preserved in 21, 31 etc., it has been softened to **-g-** in 11, but entirely lost in 19, 29, 39 etc. It appears in some Rājasthānī dialects (e.g., Mālvi) where the forms are **gunṛis** **gunṛis** and **guncaṛliṛis**.

43 R. **tirtaxlis** is curious and is recent.

91—99 **-ajex** forms are recent.

The help-words **ṭhāṭi**, **ṭhaur** and **ṭhi** (< *sthā*—?) are modern devices to give additional force to the number expressed. I have noticed no form in Early Awadhi.

(b) Ordinals—the terminations **-wāx** and **-ṭiṛ** are corresponding to *-ma*, *-mī* of Sanskrit in the ordinary ordinals.



**pañil** < *paḍhilla* *prath-illa*, **cauth** < *caturtha*, **chaṭṭhar** < *ṣaṣṭhaka*, while **doisar** and **tissar** have an affix *-sar* (Chatterji, p. 700)—Of. **ekosar** 'all alone'.

**māññil** < M I *majña* plus *-illa* and **saññil**<sup>1</sup> appears to be on its analogy.

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<sup>1</sup> This has had the contamination with Persian *seh* 'three' also, most probably. Professor S.K. Chatterji communicates a derivation (suggested by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar) on the analogy of Oriya which is said to have a form *sana māña* 'third'—Bengali *sañña* > *sejo* where *sana* < *sañña* < *ṣaṣṭhaka* 'small' + *majña* < *madhya* 'middle'. **saññil** would then be a contracted form from *sana + māña*—.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRONOUNS

#### Introductory

§ 233. As shown below (§ 269) the postpositions are employed oftener with pronouns than with nouns, because the pronouns being used very often and, generally speaking, occupying a comparatively unimportant and meaningless part in speech, become weak both phonetically and semantically. There is thus a quicker disintegration of pronouns than that of nouns and there is consequently a rebuilding and a great variety of forms. Even at the Prakrit stage we find a large number of forms of the various pronouns (see Pischel § 415 for instances of the pronoun of the first person, Bloch § 207). Some of these, doubtless, existed from OIA times.

In the case of all the pronouns we find that the initial sound has subsisted in spite of disintegration and re-modelling. Similarly pronouns which have only one syllable (*kū* etc.) have subsisted. This is quite in accordance with the principle of frequent use, *viz.*, that the important element of words of frequent occurrence survives because it is fixed up in the mind.

#### First Person Pronoun

##### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 234. The texts have the following forms:—

	sg.	pl.
direct	<i>maṣ</i> (also <i>ḥaṣi</i> )	<i>ḥama</i>

	sg.	pl.
oblique		
	<i>mō, mohi (mohi)</i>	<i>ham, hamahī (hamat)</i>
genitive adjective		
	<i>mōra</i>	<i>hamāra</i>

(a) The direct case is employed as the subject. In Jāyasi *haū* is as frequently found in use as *mat*, e.g., *haū jāū* 'I go' (p. 90), *haū mānusu* 'I am a man' (p. 92), *haū lōni* 'I am charming' (p. 134), *haū āwā* 'I came'. *mat* is generally used as the subject of past-participle or future-participle verbs, e.g., *mat pāi* 'I got' (p. 26), *mat sukha dēkhā* 'I experienced happiness' (p. 90), *mat pāiṣhaba* 'I shall enter', *mat jāba* 'I shall go'. But there are a few cases where it stands as the subject of other verbs also, e.g., *mat ravaū* 'I live in enjoyment' (p. 131), *jaū lagi mat phiri āū* 'until I come back' (p. 88). In Tulsi *mat* is the usual form and is used as the subject, e.g., *mat kari prīti parichā dēkhī* 'I have tested his affection' (p. 163), *karui mat māi* 'O mother! bitter am I' (p. 163), *mat dērāū* 'I am afraid' (p. 164), *mat lēbā* 'I shall take' (p. 197). In two instances (*hō-hū kuhāwala* 'I also allow to be said' (p. 17), *nātha haū tyāgi* 'my lord has abandoned me' (p. 354), however, *haū* has been used. In an emphatic form (*mahi sakala anaratha kara mūlā* 'I alone am the root-cause of all evil', p. 259) the form *mat* has become *ma-*. In Nūr Muhammad *mat* is used always, e.g., *likhanī mat ānhā* 'I have taken up the pen' (p. 4), *haū mat* 'I am' (p. 4), *mat hū* 'I become' (p. 21), *mat bolāū* 'I speak' (p. 110).

In all the three texts *hama* is used as the subject of the verb in plural number, e.g., Jāyasi: *hama tau buddhi gavā* 'we lost our power of thinking' (p. 113), *hama nicinta* 'I was care-free' (p. 116), *hama gavānaba kāli* 'we shall go to-morrow' (p. 96), *kita hama* 'where shall we be' (p. 96); Tulsi: *sēvaka hama* 'we the servants' (p. 167), *nātha sanātha bhāē hama ājū* 'Lord! we have to-day been endowed with a protector' (p. 209); Nūr Muhammad: *hama nā rahē karabalā*

*jhāl* 'I was not in Karbalā' (p. 3), *hama kehi kārana karaba sṅārā* 'why shall we decorate ourselves?' (p. 25), *ṣṣada milana kahā hama jāhi* 'I go to seek for the remedy' (p. 72).

(b) The oblique stands for all case-relations except the Nominative. In Jāyasl *mō* is used with postpositions (e.g., *mō kahā* 'to me', p. 137, *kō sari mō saṭi pāvai* 'who can gain an equality with me', p. 83) and *mohṭ* without postpositions (e.g., *tei mohṭ pantha dīnha ājārā*, 'He gave to me a well-lighted path', p. 24, *dēsa dēsa kē bara mohi āvāht* 'suitors of every country come for me', p. 87, *hīrāmani mohṭ nāṭi* 'Hīrāmani is my name', p. 131, *taba guna mōht aḥā* 'then there was merit in me', p. 124).

In Tulasl *mō* is used with postpositions (e.g., *mō para* 'on me', p. 163, *mō kaka* 'to me', p. 183) and *mohṭ* with or without postpositions (e.g., *mohi sana* 'from me', p. 164, *mohi pāht* 'to me', p. 166, *jehi bidhi mōht* 'as to me', p. 158, *pramudita mōhi kakeu guru* 'the preceptor gladly told me', p. 158, *mōhi achata* 'while I live', p. 159). In one instance *mohi* appears as *muhi*.

In Nūr Muhammad *mō* is generally used with postpositions (e.g., *mō kā* 'to me', *mō maha* 'in me', p. 11, *mō kaka* 'to me', p. 21, *mō sē* 'from me', p. 107, *mō kat* 'of me', p. 57) but in two cases without postpositions (*mō mana basā* 'has resided in my mind', p. 24, *bhāvara na mō tana ḍamka lagāvai* 'the bee does not sting my body' p. 56); *mohi* is used without postpositions (e.g., *mohi bibēka kuchu nāhi* 'no discrimination is in me', p. 4, *būjhi mohṭ parā* 'was realised by me' p. 5, *sūjhi parā mohṭ* 'was visible to me', p. 3, *mohi pāra utārō* 'take me across', p. 2, *mohi karani kō* 'with me the sailor', p. 2, *dayā dṛisṭi mohi ūpara ḍārō* 'cast the glance of mercy on me', p. 2). In one instance (*mahi ghāyala kaka* 'to me the wounded person', p. 108) the form of *mohṭ* appears as *mahi*.

*hama* as an oblique case is used in Jāyasl both with or without postpositions, e.g., *hama kā* 'to us' (p. 261), *hama*

*taṣ kōi na āgari rūpā* 'no one is superior to me in beauty' (p. 254); *dēha dēha hana lāgu anaṅgā* 'Cupid is sticking to every limb of mine' (p. 87), *gai hama āū* 'our life has been spent' (p. 112). It is used with postpositions in Tulsī, e.g., *hama para iṣṣū* 'anger on me' (p. 120). Only one example is found without postposition: *tajī rāma hama* 'Rāma has abandoned us' (p. 191). Nūr Muḥammad employs it with postpositions, e.g., *hama kaha* 'to me' (p. 2), *hama tē* 'from me' (p. 38), *hama sō* 'with me' (p. 64).

*hamahṣ* (*hamat* in N.) is used without postpositions in all the texts, e.g., Jāyāsī: *hamahṣ lōbha* 'owing to our greed' (p. 116), *hamahṣ garaba* 'owing to our pride' (p. 116), *aba kō hamahṣ karī bhōginī* 'who will make me an enjoyer (of objects)', (p. 254); Tulsī: *hamahi kā hānī* 'what harm to me' (p. 163), *dēhi hamahṣ sajāi* 'will give me punishment' (p. 165), *dēu yaha hamahṣ* 'give this to us' (p. 166); Nūr Muḥammad: *deihai bahuta hamat asa cērī* 'will give many maids like us' (p. 57), *hamat tuma cīnhā* 'you recognised (took) me' (p. 83).

(c) The genitive adjectives *mōra* 'my' and *hamāra* 'our' are used in all the three texts and modify their forms for case and gender. For instance:

*mōra* Jāyāsī: *jōbana mōra* 'my youth' (p. 87), *hichā bhāi mōrī* 'I had a wish' (p. 396), *hichā pūjai mōrī* 'my wish may be fulfilled' (p. 370), *puracahu mōrī darasa kai āsā* 'you satisfy my hope for sight' (p. 370), *pitā ki āyasu mōthas mōrē* 'father's order is on my forehead' (p. 89), *sēvā mōra* 'my service' (p. 614).

Tulsī: *mōra mana chōbhā* 'my mind became dejected' (p. 163), *mōrē biraha* 'owing to my separation' (p. 189), *mōrē jāna* 'in my knowledge' (p. 258); *āyasu mōrī* 'my order' (p. 181), *dahini ākhi nita pharakai mōrī* 'my right eye always throbs' (p. 165).

Nūr Muḥammad: *prabhu āhai mōrā* 'is my master' (p. 24), *kanaka sohāga mōra kari līnhā* 'has robbed me of my

golden prosperity' (p. 25), *pañkha pāya saba mūrē* 'I have wings and feet' (p. 85), *mōrī bairina (gāvaht)* 'my enemies sing' (p. 35).

NOTE 1. In Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad we come across stray forms of the *mārā* adjective which are surely borrowings from another dialect, e.g., Tulsī: *pūrahu sakala manōratna mārē* 'satisfy all my wishes' (p. 10); Nūr Muhammad: *sūthi mārē* 'my companions' (p. 96), *hai thōrt budhi pūjiya mārē* 'I possess very little capital in the shape of wisdom' (p. 4) *icchā mārē* 'my wish' (p. 79).

*hamāra Jāyast*: *jānu hamāra* 'life is ours' (p. 50), *pitā hamāra na ākhi lagāvauht* 'my father does not see' (p. 87), *kā pūchahu aba jāti hamārī* 'why do you ask (me) about my caste now' (p. 575), *hamārē kahata rahai naht mānū* 'if you do not believe by my word' (p. 610).

Tulsī: *bacanu hamāra māni* 'having complied with my words' (p. 181), *jē hamāra ari mitra udāsī* 'who are my enemies, friends or are indifferent towards me' (p. 158), *jānati hau basa -nāhu hamārē* 'you think the husband is under my control' (p. 163), *bipati hamārī bilōki bari* 'having seen our great distress' (p. 162), *bari cūka hamārī* 'great is my mistake' (p. 164), *hamārē bayara* 'owing to my enmity' (p. 31), *hamārē bhāyē* 'according to my thinking' (p. 31).

Nūr Muhammad: *jō hamāra dou hātha banāucā* 'who made both my hands' (p. 56), *jānatu paragaṣa gupata hamārā* 'he knows our open and secret acts' (p. 1), *hōtai mukuta hamāra* 'I would have my liberation' (p. 16), *tohī dāyā sō mukuta hamārī* 'I shall have my liberation by your favour' (p. 2), *thāki nāva hamāra* 'my boat is done up' (p. 35), *bhikha hamāra* 'my alms' (p. 79), *barī hamārī bhāga* 'great is my luck' (p. 158).

NOTE 2. Like *mōra*, *hamāra* also, in Nūr Muhammad, does not generally change for gender.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 235. Lakhimpurī has the following forms :

sg.	pl.
<b>mai (mafi)</b>	<b>ham</b>
Genitive Adj. <b>moir</b>	<b>hamair</b>

(a) There are no separate forms for the dir. and obl. —the same form serves for both, only **mafi** is not used as a subject. For instance: **mai gajeū** 'I went', **mai kar dexu** or **mafi kar dexu** 'give to me', **ham gajen** 'we went', **ham kar dexu** 'give to us'.

(b) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case like the ordinary adjective, e.g., **moir kurkur marj gar** 'my dog has died', **moirer kurkur ke marin** '(they) beat my dog', **moirj kutijar marj gai** 'my bitch has died', **moirir kutija ke marin** 'they beat my bitch'. Similarly we have **hamair** : **hamarer**, **hamairj** : **hamarir**.

(c) The forms in other dialects of Modern Awadhi are the same as in Lakhimpurī. B. and G. specimens give an additional form **hamai** (emphatic **hamzai**) which is used as accusative-dative, e.g., **ux hamai marisij** 'he beat me', **ux hamai dihisij** 'he gave to me'. Bgh. has **māj** and **hamfi** and **hamfiar**.

(d) The singular form of this pronoun is used less frequently than the plural. The latter replaces the former. The Eastern dialects have entirely lost the singular of this pronoun, the plural '**ham**' is invariably used as such, e.g., Fy. **ham dexkhab** may mean 'I shall see' or 'we shall see' according to the context. When a particularisation is to be made, the plural is indicated by adding **sab** or **sab keuz**, e.g., **ham sab dexkhab** 'we shall see'.

(e) The dialectal difference about the change of gender of adjectives exists in the case of the genitive adjective (see § 219).

(f) The pronunciation of **mañi** and **moir** is generally **moñi** (**mwañi**) and **mwair** in R., Br., U., part of S. and F. and in Bgh.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 237 (a) *hañ* is not found in Modern Awadhi but was used in Early Awadhi as is attested by its frequent use in Jāyast and by sporadic instances in Tulst. It goes back to the extended form *ahakam* (Chatterji § 538). This pronoun fell in disuse in Awadhi almost as early as Tulst but is of frequent occurrence in Western Hindi.

(b) Modern Awadhi **mai**, E. Aw. *mat* goes back to Pkt. *mañ* (Skt. *mayā*). This form is used in Jāyast mostly in participial constructions which shows its origin from an oblique case. The nasalisation in the Early Awadhi form has been explained by Chatterji (§ 539) by an influence of the regular instrumental affix *-ēna*.

(c) Early Aw. *mō* goes back to *mama* (Chatterji § 541) and serves as a general oblique. *moht* is super-imposed oblique form by the addition of *-ht*, oblique sg. termination of nouns. Modern Awadhi **mañi** should be connected with *moht*, and **moir** with *mō* and the genitive postposition *kara*. The *mērā* form would go back to *mō kēra*.

(d) Modern Aw. **ham**, E. Aw. *hama* is connected with OIA *asmē* through Pkt. *amhē*, *amha* with the transfer of aspiration to the initial position. Modern **hamai**, E. Aw. *hamaht* is the general oblique form by the addition of *-ht*.

**hamair**, E. Aw. *hamāra* is *hama* plus the postposition *kara*, *kāra*.

### Second Person Pronoun

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 237.	sg.	pl.
direct		
	J. <i>tū</i> , <i>tut</i>	<i>tumha</i>
	T. <i>tū</i> ( <i>tū</i> ) <i>taṭ</i>	<i>tumha</i> ( <i>tuma</i> )
	N. <i>taṭ</i> ( <i>tui</i> )	<i>tuma</i>



oblique	sg.	pl.
	J. <i>tō, tohi</i>	<i>tumha</i>
	T. <i>tō, tohi</i>	<i>tumha (tuma)</i>
		<i>tumhaht, tumahṭ</i>
	N. <i>tō, toht (tohi)</i>	<i>tumhai, tumahi</i>
genitive adjective		
	J. <i>tōra (tohāra)</i>	<i>tumhāra</i>
	T. <i>tōra</i>	<i>tumhāra</i>
	N. <i>tohāra (tōra)</i>	<i>tumhāra</i>

(a) The direct case comes as the subject. In Jāyasi both *tū* and *tut* are used but the latter is generally the subject of past-participle verbs, e.g., *hirāmani tū parāna parēvā* 'O Hirāmani bird thou art my life-breath' (p. 91), *tū pañkhi piārā* 'thou art a dear bird' (p. 92), *ai gosāt tū aisa bīhātū* 'O Master, Thou art such a creator' (p. 107), *dēhi tū cārā* 'thou givest meal' (p. 107), *tū suatā pañṣita hatā* 'O parrot, thou wert wise' (p. 113), *tū bidhi dēhi adhāra* 'O Creator, give (me) support' (p. 122); *tut suraṅga mūrati vaha kahi* 'thou hast spoken of her, a picture of good colours' (p. 155), *jasa anūpa tut dēkhi* 'as unique as you have seen (her)' (p. 160), *tut rājā kā puhirasi kanthā* 'O king why do you put on rags' (p. 232), *tut dayāla saba kē uparāht* 'thou art compassionate over all' (p. 370). In one case Jāyasi has *tat*: *tat hari laṅka harāi kēhari* 'by stealing the middle part of your body—as is shown by its being very thin—thou hast defeated the lion' (p. 551). In Tulsī both *tū* and *tat* have been frequently used as the subject, e.g., *jananī tū janani bhāi* 'mother!, you have been my mother' (p. 220), *kō tū ahasi* 'who art thou?' (p. 220), *tū chala binaya karasi kara jōrē* 'you are practising false supplication with folded hands', (p. 120); *bhagata tat mōrā* 'thou art my devotee' (p. 74), *tat pālava ścā* 'thou hast watered the twig' (p. 220). In Nūr Muhammad the most common form is *tat*, e.g., *mitra tat mērō* 'thou art my friend' (p. 84), *tat jina rahu* 'thou shouldst not remain' (p. 104), *tat na dukhi mana hō* 'do not

be distressed at heart' (p. 128), *taṭ dhana kaṭi samā paṭa māhī* 'good woman! thou art like a bud (covered) in cloth' (p. 49), *jā sō magu taṭ hērā* 'from whom thou hast sought the way' (p. 58), *taṭ marama na pāvā* 'thou hast not reached the secret' (p. 75). In one case (*lābha ki bāta kaḥi tui gyānī* 'wise man! thou hast uttered words for my benefit' p. 153) we find *tui*.

*tumha* is used with the plural verb, e.g., Jāyast: *pātisāha tumha jagata kē* 'you are the king of the world' (p. 17), *tumha rājā cāhahu sukha pāvā* 'you are a king and want to obtain happiness' (p. 229), *tumha abahī jēia ghara pōi* 'you eat finished (food) at home' (p. 229); Tulsī: *tumhu kahahu* 'you should say' (p. 25), *tumha pūchahu* 'you are asking' (p. 164), *rāmapriya tāta tumha* 'dear child, you are dear to Rāma' (p. 223), *milehu rāma tumha* 'Rāma! you have met me' (p. 327), *jā para nātha karahu tumha dāyā* 'on whom, my lord, you are compassionate' (p. 354). In Nūr Muḥammad the form of this pronoun is *tuma*, e.g., *tumirehu tuma mōhī* 'you should think of me' (p. 4), *tuma gurū* 'you are the teacher' (p. 20), *tuma kāmīni matī-hīnī* 'you are a loving woman, bereft of wisdom' (p. 21).

NOTE.—In Tulsī stray cases of *tuma* are found, e.g., *dēkhahu tuma* 'you see' (p. 831).

(b) The oblique stands for all case-relations except the Nominative. In all the texts *tō* is used with postpositions and *tohi* (*toḥi*) without them. For instance:

Jāyast: *aihai bhacāra jo tō kaha jōrā* 'the bee who is the mate for thee will come' (p. 383), *au bidhi rūpa dīnha hai tō kā* 'and the Creator has given you beauty' (p. 466), *tō saṭi mona lāi* 'having attached his mind with you' (p. 522); *tohi lāyaka bara* 'a bridegroom befitting thee' (p. 87), *karata tohi sēcā* 'while rendering service to thee' (p. 91), *na tohi daru āvā* 'fear did not come to thee' (p. 126).

Tulsī: *sapanehu tō para kōpu na mōhī* 'I have no anger on thee even in dream' (p. 163), *tō sana larata jo sōha* 'who

would like to fight with thee' (p. 380); *sikha dīnhiā tōhi* 'I have given you advice' (p. 163), *dhārata sapatha tohi* 'Bharata's swearing by thee' (p. 163), *kahatū na tōhi* 'I do not tell thee' (p. 165), *jaū kachū kahatū kapāṣa kari tōhi* 'if I tell thee anything deceitfully' (p. 167), *tōhi sama hitu na mōra saṁsārā* 'nobody is such a well-wisher of mine in this world as thee' (p. 166), *pūchatū tōhi* 'I ask thee' (p. 25). Nūr Muḥammad : *tō sē kō patiyāra* 'what confidence with thee?' (p. 142), *gāṛhi gāṛha parai jāhā tōhi* 'wherever you have a difficult point' (p. 4), *tōhi dāyā sō* 'by thy favour' (p. 2), *sunāvātū tōhi* 'I tell thee' (p. 14), *sūjha hūjha naht tōhi* 'you do not possess insight or wisdom' (p. 21).

oblique *tumha* in Jāyāsī is used with or without postpositions, e.g., *ghaṭai tumha āū* 'your span of life becomes smaller' (p. 64), *mat tumha rāja bahuta sukha dēkhā* 'I have experienced great happiness in your rule' (p. 90); *tumha saū kōi na jītā* 'nobody has won you' (p. 90), *tumha lat* 'from you' (p. 286).

In Tulsī *tumha* (obl.) is used with postpositions, e.g., *dharma sujasa prabhu tuma katū* 'lord, virtue and good glory will accrue to you' (p. 90), *tumha kaha bipati bīja bidhi dayēū* 'the Creator would sow the seed of calamity for you' (p. 165), *tumha sana tāta bahuta kā kahatū* 'why should I speak to (with) you more, dear sir' (p. 194), *rājast tumha para prēma bisēkhī* 'the king has a great love for (on) you' (p. 164). In one instance (*tuma samāna tumha tāta* 'dear, you are like yourself', p. 276) *tuma* has been used without a postposition.

The accusative-dative form (*tumhaht, tumahṭ*) is used without postpositions, e.g., *tumhaht bidita raghupati-prabhutāi* 'to you the greatness of the Lord of Raghua is well-known' (p. 25), *aba jau tumhahi sutā para nēhū* 'now, if you have affection for your daughter' (p. 35), *cāhata dēna tumhaht yuvarājū* 'wants to give you the title of the crown prince' (p. 161), *tumhaht lei sāthā* 'taking you with me'

(p. 185), *tumaht bolāi* 'having called thee' (p. 238), *tumaht avadhī bhari bari kaṭhināi* 'you have great difficulty throughout the period' (p. 276).

In Nūr Muhammad the oblique *tumhai*, *tumahi* is used without postpositions, e.g., *tumhai...jōga na chājā* 'Yōga is not suitable for you' (p. 21), *jhūṭha kahāni tumahi sunāeu* 'told you a false story' (p. 23), *tumhat merāihi piya piyārā* 'will make thy dear beloved meet with thee' (p. 41), *tumhai sapana mē dēkhaṭi tahā* 'I see you there in a dream' (p. 72), *pitā tumhai kārana dukha sahā* 'your father bore unhappiness on your account' (p. 144); with postposition in *tumhai nita* 'for your sake' (p. 72).

(c) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case in Jāyāsī and Tulāsī regularly while only sometimes in Nūr Muhammad.

Jāyāsī : *tōra* is the common form (there being only one instance of *tohāra* : *tuhā tohāra mat kinha bakhānū* 'there I gave thy description,' p. 396), e.g., *kā tōra purukhā* 'what is thy man?' (p. 140), *tōrai gharahi mājha dasa panthā* 'there are ten ways in thy own house' (p. 232), *jehi bidhi asatuti tōri* 'in which way thy praise (should be done)' (p. 370).

Tulāsī : *tōra kahā jehi dina phura hōi* 'the day on which thy word will turn out to be true' (p. 163), *karagata vēda tatva saba tōrē* 'all the principles of the Vedas are under your control' (p. 25), *pūjīhi nātha anugraha tōrē* 'it will be fulfilled, my lord, by thy favour' (p. 158), *taba dhari jibha karhāvati tōri* 'then I shall get hold of you and will get your tongue cast out' (p. 163).

Nūr Muhammad : *tohāra* (*tehāra*, *tihāra*) form is more common, e.g., *āvana bhaeu tohāra* 'came your arrival' (p. 14), *piya toharā* 'thy husband' (p. 41), *linhā sarana* (fm.) *tohāra* 'took thy refuge' (p. 32), *prīta* (fm.) *tohāra* 'thy love' (p. 136), *sundara sila tehārō* 'thy conduct is good' (p. 92), *tehārō binati* (fm.) *māneti* 'agreed to your supplication'

(p. 104), *nāma tihārē* 'thy name' (p. 48); *tōra bakhāna* 'thy description' (p. 49), *mukh tōra* 'thy face' (p. 62).

NOTE.—Stray cases of *tērā* forms are also found, e.g., *caracā tērē* 'thy talk' (p. 49), *nikhērā tērē* 'thy kind net' (p. 84), *sāvā tērē* 'thy service' (p. 57), *cāri hāīū tērē* 'I would become thy maid' (p. 79).

*tumhāra* is found in all the three texts.

Jāyāsī: *kanta tumhāra marāma mat tūhā* 'my beloved, I came to know your reality' (p. 147), *karai tumhārā khōju* 'searches you' (p. 147), *pai tumhāra nahī rōā pasijā* 'but your hair did not become wet' (p. 503), *tumharē darasana lāgi* 'for your sight' (p. 501), *tumharei mā/apha* 'in your own bower' (p. 460), *mati hīna tumhārī* 'your thought is low' (p. 490), *tumharī jōti* 'by thy light' (p. 551).

Talsī: *jehi bidhi hōihī parama hita nārada sunahu tumhāra* 'O Narada, the way in which there would be your best good' (p. 60), *bhaye tumhāra tanaya soi* 'the same has become your son' (p. 159), *sātha tumhārē* 'in your company' (p. 183), *tumharē hṛdaya* 'in your mind' (p. 179), *tumharehi bhāga* 'by your luck only' (p. 186), *tumhārī mātu bāulchī* 'Sita is your mother' (p. 186), *jari tumhārī caha savatī ukhārī* 'your co-wife wants to dig up your root' (p. 164), *has tumhārī sēvā basa rāū* 'the king is under the control of your service' (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad: *hai sadana tumhārā* 'is your house' (p. 22), *jiu tumhārā* 'your life' (p. 21), *naina tumhārē tasa karat* 'your eyes may do thus' (p. 62), *jiu sō niara tumhārē* 'am near you by my life-breath' (p. 76), *prīta tumhārī (hai)* 'your love is', *pai tumhārī akhiyā matavārī* 'but your eyes are bewitching' (p. 176), *dōṣa tumhārī ākhina kērā* 'the fault is of your eyes' (p. 62), but *bhājana* (masc.) *tumhārī* 'your prayer' (p. 72). In one instance the spelling is *tomhārā* (*gulāba tomhārā* 'your rose', p. 37).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 238. Lakhimpurī has the following forms :

sg.	pl.
<b>tui (tuṣi)</b>	<b>tum</b>
Genitive adj. <b>tozr</b>	<b>tumazr (tumḥazr)</b>

(a) There are no separate forms for the dir. and obl., the same form serves for both, only, **tuṣi** is not used as a subject. For example: **tui gawaz** 'thou went', **tui kar diṣeū** or **tuṣi kar diṣeū** 'I gave to you'; **tum gajeu** 'you went', **tum kar diṣeū** 'I gave to you.'

(b) The genitive adjective changes for gender and case like the ordinary adjective, e.g., **tozr kukur marī gar** 'thy dog died', **tozrez kukur ko khazī ko diṣen** '(we) gave (something) to eat to your dog', **tozrī kutijaz marī gai** 'thy bitch died', **tozriz kutija ko khazī ko diṣen** '(we) gave (something) to eat to your bitch'. Similarly, we have **tumazr**, obl. **tumarez**, **tumazrī** : **tumazriz**.

Sometimes a short aspiration is heard after **-m-** in the case of this adjective.

(c) In Lakhimpurī the singular (**tui**) is used only for the younger, chiefly children and the servants. It expresses either deep affection or contempt. Parents would always address their grown up sons and daughters as **tum** 'you'.

(d) The forms of this pronoun in S., L., U., Br. and R. are the same as in Lakhimpurī, only in U., R., part of S. and L. **tozr** is pronounced as **twazr** and **tui** as **toi**. F. and Bgh. have **tāj** for Lmp. **tui** and **twazr** for **tozr**. B. for the singular direct has **twai** or **tui** and **tuz** for the singular oblique while for the plural it has **tum** like Lmp. Bgh. has **tumfi**. G. has **twaĩ** for the singular but generally uses **tuz** for both the numbers and **toḥazr** as the genitive adjective. Fy., Sl., P. and A. have only one form **tuz** (sometimes **tūz** in Fy.) and **toḥazr** for both the numbers. For the accusative-dative they have an additional form **toḥaĩ** (**toḥāĩj**) which alternates

with **toz kar** or **tōfi kar**. In these dialects when a specification is necessary **sab** is added after this pronoun to indicate the plural, e.g., **tuz sab**, **tōfi sab kar**, **tofiāī sab kar**.

(e) The dialectal difference about the change of gender of adjectives (see § 219) exists in the case of this genitive adjective also. Only the 1st and 2nd person pronouns have separate adjectival forms in the genitive.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 239. (a) Modern **tuz**, **tūz**, Early **tū** all go back to forms of *tuam* in Pkt. *tumaṃ* etc. (Pischel § 420).

(b) Modern **tui**, **taī**, Early **tut**, **tot** have parallels in Prakrit and are connected with *tvayā*.

(c) Modern **toz**, Early **tō** represents OIA *tava* (Chatterji § 549), and Modern **twai twaī**, Early **tōhi** are oblique forms with *-hi*. **tozr**, **tōra** was **tō** + *kara*, while **tōrū** was **tō** + *kāraka*, **tofiarz** was **tō** + *kāra* with an emphatic *-h-*.

(d) **tum**, **tumha** goes back to Pkt. *tumhā*; **tumhaht** is the oblique with *-ht* and **tumazr**, **tumhāra** simply *tumha* + *kāra*.

### Third Person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative Pronoun.

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 240.

sg.

pl.

direct

J. *vaha*, *sō*

*vei*, *unha*, *lei*, *tinha*

T. *sō*

*tē*, *linha*, *una*, *unha*, *ō*, (*sō*).

N. *sō*, *vaha*

*sō*, *vai*, *una*

oblique

J. *ohi*, *ō*, *tehi*, *tāhi*, *tā*, *tāsu*

*unha*, *tinha*,

T. *ohi*, *tā*, *tehi*, *tāhi*, *tāsu*

*tinahṭ*, *linha*, *linhahṭ*, *unha*, *unhahṭ*

N. *vā*, *tā*, *vohi* (*vahi*), *tehi*, *tāhi*, *tāsu*

*una*, *lina*, (*lena*), *unhat*, *tinhai*

adjective

*tauna*

The forms of these three pronouns are so confused together that it is impossible to distinguish one from another.

(a) The direct is used as the Nominative or inanimate object.

In Jāyast *vaha* is generally used as the personal pronoun and as demonstrative while *sō* as the correlative. For instance: *jabaht gharī pūjai vaha mārā* 'as soon as the hour was completed, he would strike' (p. 64), *calā vaha āvā* 'he came near' (p. 112), *nā vaha milā na bēharā* 'neither is he united nor separate' (p. 11), *vaha binauba āgai hoi* 'he will come forward and supplicate' (p. 15). In one instance (*siṅghala-dīpa jāi vaha pāvai* 'by going to the island of Singhala he will obtain her' (p. 118) *vaha* has been used as the direct object; *sō pāvai vaha sīpa* 'he will get that mother of pearl' (p. 50), *sō rahai* 'he will remain' (p. 10), *dūri so niara niara sō dūri* 'what is far becomes near, what is near becomes far off' (p. 35), *jō vei cahū so kīhēsi* 'what He wanted, He did' (p. 10).

NOTE.—*vaha* is found as *uha* in one case (*dhanapati uhai* 'he alone is rich', p. 7).

In Tulsī *sō* is the form for the direct singular and *tei* as the subject of trans. past. part. verb, e.g., *sō suni tiya risa gaye sukhāi* 'on hearing of the woman's anger, he became extremely unhappy (lit. dry)' (p. 167), *sō* is also used as the direct inanimate object, e.g., *sō janaba satasanga prabhāu* 'take that to be due to the company of the good' (p. 4), *āyasu hōi so karaū gosāi* 'I should do that which my lord advises' (p. 161), *pīra tei gōi* 'she concealed the pain' (p. 168), *tei kachu kāna na kīha* 'she did not listen to anything' (p. 177), *gavana tei kīha* 'he went' (p. 201).

In Nūr Muhammad *vaha* is generally used as the third person or demonstrative pronoun and *sō* as correlative, e.g., *pitā rājā para dhā vaha rājā* 'he became king over the father's kingdom' (p. 7), *sapanē mō sō hōta hai jau santukai*



*na hōi* 'that happens in dream which may never happen in direct perception' (p. 11), *jā mana āi basai jō kōi, tā kaha prāna piyārā sōi* 'he who comes and stays in one's heart, is as dear to one as life-breath' (p. 13).

In Jūyastī, the plural form of this pronoun is used, with plural verb generally and with participial singular transitive verb, e.g., *vei kēraht* 'they see' (p. 49), *vei tō phirō utaru asa pāvā* 'they obtained such an answer and returned' (p. 90), *vei tau uḍō aurū bana tākā* 'they flew away and aimed at another forest' (p. 112), *niṣhura tēi jō para māsa khāvā* 'they are cruel who eat others' flesh' (p. 126), *hajarata khvāja khijira tēi pās* 'he (respectful plural) met Hazrat Khvājā Khizra' (p. 26), *tēi mohṭ pantha dīnha ājiārā* 'he (respectful plural) showed me the well-lighted path' (p. 24); *niramara pantha kinha tinha jinha re diā kichu hātha* 'they have paved a clear way who have given something by (their own) hand' (p. 300); *janu unha jōga tanta aba khēlā* 'it appears that they have played a trick of Yōga now' (p. 431), *nāgaphāsa unha mēli giā* 'they have put a serpent-noose on their necks' (p. 538).

In Tulsīdās *tē* and *ō* are the regular direct plural forms while *tinha* and *unha* are used as subjects of transitive participle verbs, e.g., *tē ki sadā sadā dina milahṭ* 'they are found always' (p. 181), *aba tē dina bītē* 'now those days are past' (p. 164), *tē priya tumhahṭ* 'those are dear to you' (p. 163), *sundara suta janamata bhaṭ ōū* 'they also brought forth beautiful sons' (p. 85), *rēlha tinha khācī* 'they drew a line' (p. 165), *sisa tinha nāē* 'they bowed their heads' (p. 159), *tinha nija ōru na lāuba bhōrā* 'they will not have any consideration' (p. 5), *citrakētu kara ghura una ghālā* 'he (respectful) destroyed the family of Citrakētu' (p. 38), *chana mahā sakala kaṭaka unha mārā* 'in a moment they destroyed the whole army' (p. 305).

NOTE.—In one case *sē* has been used (*sē karata miṣṭi* 'they befriended', p. 326).

In Nūr Muhammad *sō*, *vai* and *una* are used in the plural without any difference, e.g., *sō rahē āṭha jāsā cērē* 'they were like the eight disciples' (p. 11), *āgē vai pagu rākhaṭ* 'they put forward the footstep' (p. 97), *mirtaka rahē jīva una pāē* 'they were dead, they got life' (p. 168).

(b) Of the forms of the oblique singular in Jāyasl *ō* and *tā* are always used with postpositions, e.g., *jō dukha sahāi hōi sukha ō kā* 'he who bears misery, to him happiness would come' (p. 476), *dēo pūji puni ō pahā āi* 'having worshipped the deity (she) came to him' (p. 501), *rahā na ō saū dōsari kūdhī* 'there was no one with him to give a shoulder' (p. 590), *sō rājā vaha tā kara dēsū* 'he was the king and that was his country' (p. 39), *tū kahā āna hāṭa kita lāhā* 'how can he have a gain in another market' (p. 56), *rōā rōā tanu tā saū ōdhā* 'every hair of his body was closely connected with her' (p. 577), *baḍahara sō anūpa ati tākē* 'its *baṛahāl* fruits were unrivalled' (p. 41). *ohi* and *t hi* are mostly used with postpositions, e.g., *ohi saū mat pāi jaba karanī* 'when I obtained competence from him' (p. 26), *ohi hula dēkhāi pāēū* 'through him I was able to see' (p. 27), *nā koi hoihai ohi kē rūpā* 'there shall be no one like him' (p. 11), *kīnhesi tehi kahā bahuta birāsū* 'for him he created many objects of enjoyment' (p. 5), *tehi tar adhika* 'more than that' (p. 195), *prathama jōti bilhi tehi kai sāji* 'the creator first created his light' (p. 14), *tehi kara gurū* 'his preceptor' (p. 26), *bīju tehi mākā* 'lightning in that' (p. 2), *tehi para* 'on that' (p. 64). They are used sometimes without postpositions, e.g., *ohi na kāhu kai āsa nirāsā* 'to him there is no hope or despair from anybody' (p. 7), *nā ohi kufūla* 'there is no family of his' (p. 10), *tehi sājū* 'his trappings' (p. 5), *tehi prīti* 'owing to his love' (p. 14). *tāhi* is used without a postposition, e.g., *dōsa tāhi jehi sūjha na āgū* 'the defect is his who cannot see before himself' (p. 138), *bāta na pūchī tāhi* 'did not ask him anything'

(p. 507). *tāsu* is used as genitive only, e.g., *janama bhā tāsu* 'his birth came' (p. 81).

NOTE.—At one place *tāu* is used meaning 'her' (*nāgamati nāgini mati tāu* 'Nāgamati—her intellect was that of a she-serpent', p. 138).

*Tulasībhā* uses *tā* always with postpositions and *tehi* mostly with postpositions while *ohi* and *tāhi* without postpositions, for instance :

*tā sanu āi kinha chalu* ' (he) came and practised deception on (with) him ' (p. 286), *tā tē* 'owing to that' (p. 164), *tā kahū bibudha naḍi baitarani* 'for him (there is) Baitarani, the river of the gods' (p. 286), *cāri padāratha karatala tākē* 'the four achievements are under his palm' (p. 175), *tehi para* 'above that', *tehi tē* 'owing to that' (p. 170), *tehi avasara* 'at that time' (p. 161); *āna bhāti nahī pārō dhī* 'I shall not get her otherwise' (p. 60), *dēu daiu phiri sū phalu dhī* 'may fate give him that fruit again' (p. 164), *kāhū baiṭhana kahā na dhī* 'no one asked him to sit down' (p. 286); *ajasa peṭāri tāhi kari* 'having made her an object (box) of infamy' (p. 162), *bhēṭata bharata tāhi ati prīti* 'Bharata embraces him with great affection' (p. 232), *dharama niti upadēsia tāhi* 'to him should virtue and polity be advised' (p. 185), *bacana bāna sama lāgahi tāhi* 'to her the words struck as arrows' (p. 176). *tāsu* is the genitive, e.g., *bāni sarinoya tāsu sohāsi* 'humble words of her liking' (p. 169), *tāsu nirādara* 'his disrespect' (p. 174).

In Nūr Muhammad *vā* and *tā* are always used with postpositions, e.g., *sabada bacana amrita rasa vā kē* 'the words of his speech are like nectar' (p. 153), *ēkahu bāra na vā kai tākō* 'nobody aims at him even once' (p. 56); *buddhasēna rahu tā kō nāḍi* 'his name was Buddhasēna' (p. 12), *tā mahā lākha bastu kī ḍhērī* 'in that there were heaps of lakhs of things' (p. 9), *riṣhā tā para nirpa sarēkhā* 'the handsome king became enamoured of her' (p. 13). *pūcheṭi tā sō* 'I asked her' (p. 3). *vohi* (*vahi*) is used with or without postpositions,

*e.g.*, *jāṭ vohi kē dēsa kaha* 'I am going to her country' (p. 21), *basai mana vōhi* 'the mind takes an abode in her' (p. 43), *vohi dūlat saba dūlat* 'on her motion every one moves' (p. 46), *vahi darasana kā haṭi mat bhukhā* 'I am hungry for her sight' (p. 28). *tehi* is generally used with postpositions, *e.g.*, *adhara tehi ka jū likhai citērā* 'if the painter paints her lower lip' (p. 13), *tehi nita sādhai jōga* 'for her he will practise Yōga' (p. 7), *tehi māht* 'in that' (p. 8), but *rājaktāra tehi rākhā nālū* 'his name was fixed up as *Rājaktāra*' (p. 7), *puni ānata tehi apanē niyarē* 'then brings him near herself' (p. 10), *rāja doū jaga kō tehi chājā* 'the kingship of both the worlds fits him' (p. 1). *tāhi* is generally used without postpositions and expresses an accusative-dative sense, *e.g.*, *dīnhā rasanā tāhi bakhānō* 'He gave me the tongue that I should praise Him' (p. 1), *raṁcika tāhi na bhāvai* 'not even little appealed to him' (p. 13), but *hōta dharama nita tāhi majhārā* 'virtuous deeds are always done in that' (p. 14). Only a few cases of *tāsu* (genitive) are found, *e.g.*, *tāsu badana* 'her face' (p. 10), *tāsu bakhāna* 'her description' (p. 69).

The plural oblique form *unha* (*una*) has been used with postpositions in all the three texts, *e.g.*, Jāyasī: *laisa cahia puni unha kaha* 'again, to them such (a treatment) should be meted out' (p. 528), *unha kē raṁgā* 'their colours' (p. 70), *nā unha kai vaha rūpa sohāi* 'neither was there her (respectful) beauty' (p. 445), *unha mahā ēka gurū jo kahāvā* 'amongst them there was one, called their teacher' (p. 431); Tulsi: *mat unha kara dāsā* 'I am his (respectful) slave' (p. 300), *samujhi parī moki unha kai karani* 'I was able to understand his deed' (p. 304); Nūr Muhammad: *una nita māgu saraga sukha bānū* 'for them always beg for a happy residence in Heaven' (p. 136). The form *tinha*, *tina* (*tena*) is found in Jāyasī both with and without postpositions, *e.g.*, *disiṣa pāpa saba tinha kē bhāgē* 'all their sins were gone by the sight' (p. 425), *tinha mahā* 'in them' (p. 75), *ḍarapaht*

*rāi dēkhi tinha* (kāḍhē 'on seeing them standing, kings got frightened' (p. 63), *paduma gandha tinha aṅga basāhī* 'their bodies gave out a fragrance of lotus' (p. 49). In Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad, however, they are seen always with postpositions, for instance, Tulsī: *tinha kē mana mandira basahu* 'reside in their mind-temples' (p. 208), *jē tinha mahā baya biridha sayānē* 'those amongst them who were older in age and wise' (p. 200), Nūr Muhammad: *pūcheṭi tina kara tā sō nāṭi* 'I asked their name' (p. 3), *sō karihai tina kara bistārā* 'he will have their amplification' (p. 69), *lōha phāda tina kē gala hīrē* 'iron-snarees will be diamonds on their necks' (p. 141), *cahū disa tina para bhāvara bhārāhī* 'on all sides the bees hovered on them' (p. 8). The accusative-dative forms *unhahī*, *unhai* and *tinahī*, *tinhai* have been used without postpositions by Tulsī and Nūr Muhammad both, e.g., Tulsī: *tasa phalu unhahī dētū* 'I shall give her (respectful) a similar recompense' (p. 170), *tinahī suhāi na nagara-banāvā* 'to them the city-decorations did not appeal' (p. 162), *tinahī biṭki biṭkati dharanī* 'having seen them looks towards the ground' (p. 203), *tinahī ko mārāi binu bhagavantā* 'excepting the Lord, who can kill them' (p. 305); Nūr Muhammad: *aura na kijai unhai nirāṭi* 'and do not make them helpless' (p. 136), *jīu tinhai hai prita tumhārī* 'your affection is life to them' (p. 51), *tinhai lai āvā* 'brought them' (p. 68).

(c) These forms are also used as Remote demonstrative pronouns. For instance:

Direct singular—Jāyasī: *asa vaha suā amṛta* 'that parrot is so priceless' (p. 127), *sō pāvai vaha sīpa* 'he will get that mother of pearl' (p. 50), *āi so nārī* 'that woman came' (p. 134), *sō rājā* 'that king' (p. 39); Tulsī: *sō baidēhī sīvati mahī* 'that Sita sleeps on the ground' (p. 193), *soi bhārōsa mōrē mana āvā* 'that very assurance came to my mind' (p. 8), *roha sukha* 'that happiness' (p. 85); Nūr Muhammad: *sō dina gayau* 'that day has passed' (p. 52),

*darapana bica rahī vala rāni* 'that queen was in the mirror' (p. 12), *vō prēmī kahaī* 'that lover says' (p. 6).

Direct plural—Jāyasī: *tehi sira phūla caṛhaht vei* 'those flowers are put on that head' (p. 53), *dahū kaū lōni ki vei padumanī* 'whether I am handsome or the rival is Padminī' (p. 134); Tulsi: *tā dina biṭē* 'those days have passed' (p. 164); Nūr Muhammad: *garanata hat vei lōi* 'those people go' (p. 54).

NOTE.—sg. *vei* and pl. *unha* (*una*), *tinha* are not used as demonstrative pronouns.

Oblique singular—Jāyasī: *ohi jaga bichuraht kittu* 'how will they be separated in that world' (p. 31), *ohi chāha raini koi āvai* 'by that very shade, night comes up' (p. 40), *tehi nāca* 'in that dance' (p. 60); *jaga kaha jiana dīnha tehi mūṭhī* 'with that hand he gave life to the world' (p. 17), *tā dina byādha bhaeu jiu-lāvā* 'on that day the fowler became the murderer' (p. 116); Tulsi: *tehi avasara āē laṣana* 'at that time Lakshmana came' (p. 161); Nūr Muhammad: *tā mukha kērā* 'of that face' (p. 11), *tā pagu raja kē ūpara* 'on the dust of her feet' (p. 99), *cētā vōhi samai cali āi* 'Cētā came at that time' (p. 69), *jō vahi mukha kō paragaṭa dēkhā* 'he who saw that face clearly' (p. 18), *bhā tehi bacana huṭē saṃsārā* 'the Universe was created by that word' (p. 5), *tehi ṣhāl* 'in that place' (p. 6).

Oblique plural—Jāyasī: *unha bānaht* 'by those arrows' (p. 177), *tinha tālaht* 'in those ponds' (p. 50), *tinha puru-khanka kaha* 'to those men' (p. 308); Nūr Muhammad: *sapata akai una ākhina kēri* 'oath of those eyes' (p. 71), *tena sarira kō cānhā* 'who recognises those bodies' (p. 59).

NOTE.—*unhahi*, *unhat*, *tinhahi*, *tinhat* are not used as demonstrative pronouns.

(d) Instances of the correlative adjective *tauna* 'that' are found in Nūr Muhammad, e.g., *kehi hita āni dharāyeu tauna sunāpahū mōht* 'why did you allow yourself to be

caught tell me that' (p. 88), *siddha hōi apānē gana, sunai anāhada tauna* 'he who hears that Anāhada sound becomes an accomplished being' (p. 121).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 241. Lakhimpuri has the following forms :

	sg.	pl.
dir. masc.	uz, waṣu }	
„ fem.	waz, waṣ }	ui
obl.	ui, waṣi	un (unṣi)

For instance : *uz* or *waṣu* *kaṣisī* 'he said', *waz* or *waṣi* *kaṣisī* 'she said', *ui* *kaṣin* 'they (men or women) said', *ui* *kaz derkhen* or *waṣi* *kaz derkhen* '(we) saw him (her)', *un* *kaz* or *unṣi* *kaz derkhen* '(we) saw them (men or women).'

(a) All these forms (excepting obl. pl.) are used as pronominal adjectives also, e.g., *uz* *larikaz* or *waṣu* *larikaz* 'that boy', *waz* *gazi* or *waṣi* *gazi* 'that cow', *ui* or *waṣi* *larika ko* 'to that boy', *ui* or *waṣi* *gazi ko* 'to that cow', *ui* *larikaz* 'those boys', *ui* *gazin* 'those cows'. The pronominal adjective for obl. pl. also is *ui* (and not *un*, *unṣi*), e.g., *ui* *larikan ko* 'to those boys', *ui* *gazin ko* 'to those cows'.

(b) There is considerable dialectal difference with regard to the forms of this pronoun. S., L., Br., R. and U. agree with Lmp. except that in Br., dir. pl. is *wōṣi* besides *ui*, in R., obl. sg. *wai* besides *waṣi* and *ui* and in U. (as well as in south L.) *waṣi* is pronounced as *wōṣi* and there is one more obl. sg. form *uṣi*. The dir. sg. masc. is sometimes *wōz*. In F. masc. and fm. forms coincide in the sg. *waṣi* or *waz* and the obl. sg. is *waṣi* or *wai*. In B. the sg. differs from Lmp. in having no difference of gender or case, *uz* being the common form with *uṣi* in the obl. sometimes. For instance : *uz* *kai* or *uṣi* *kai* 'his or her'. G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. do not observe any distinction of gender.

The masc. dir. sg. in all these is **uz** (P. has **oz** also) and the obl. sg. is **oñ** (G.), **wañi**, **oz** (Fy.), **wañi wai** (Sl.), **oñe** (P. and A.). The dir. pl. in G. is **wai**, in Fy. **wañi**, in Sl. **wai**. In P. and A. **pāre** or **sab** is added to the sing. to specify the plural. The obl. pl. is **un** in all the Eastern dialects; only Fy. has **wan** and P. (also A.) **on**, **oñ** besides **un**. Besides there is an accusative-dative form **unñai**. Bgh. in the singular has **wax** dir. and **wox** (**wañi**) obl.—and in the plural **ui** dir. and **un**, **unñ** obl.

(c) As in Lakshmipuri, the forms of this pronoun are used as adjectives also in all the dialects. In U. and parts of F. and R. the obl. is used as the subject also of past participle tenses.

#### (d) Remote Demonstrative Pronoun

The third person pronoun is also used as the remote demonstrative pronoun, there being no separate forms for the latter. The forms of this pronoun are used also as the correlative pronoun besides the forms of the correlative pronoun (see § 247).

### C. ORIGIN

§ 242. Like other Mod. IA languages we have three varieties of forms, viz. (1) *s-*, (2) *t-* and (3) *u-*, *w-* or *o-*. Possibly nowhere else do we find a variety so abundant as here. In Sanskrit there were forms of the Third person pronoun *saḥ*, *taḥ* etc. (which appear to have combined two pronouns: note *saśmin* in Vedic, Pischel p. 300) and of the Demonstrative pronoun *asau*, *amū* etc. (where also a combination of two pronouns is shown). A distinction of gender was maintained. We find that the distinction of gender is losing ground in the Prakrits. Early Awadhi has already entirely lost it. Of the three varieties of forms

(1) those with initial *s-* are connected with *saḥ* and *sā*, and E. Aw. *sō* (modern *sox*) exactly represents *saḥ* of



Sanskrit<sup>1</sup>. On account of frequency of use and being a monosyllable it has maintained itself. Its use for the plural is modern (post-Middle-Indian) on the analogy of nouns. *sā*, used as plural only, is on the model of *tā*, *kā*, *yā*.

(2) *t*-pronouns are attested by the variety of forms in the Prakrite. Nominative **taun** goes back to *taṃ + uṇa* (< *tal punaḥ*) of the Prakrite, Nom. sg. **tex** in Eastern Awadhi dialects is Māg. Nom. -ā, *tehi* is its oblique. *tā* with postpositions was another oblique derived from *tasya*, a later and fresh form of the same is *tāsu*<sup>2</sup> and *tāhi* is the superimposed oblique. Nominative plural **tā** (**tex**) is in line with other pronouns while **tix** is a new formation. *tei* appears to be the emphatic of *tā*. *tinha*, *tenha*, *tinḥ*, *tin* are the oblique forms based on the ancient genitive plural -*nām* like nouns.

(3) It is difficult to find the derivation of the pronouns in *u-*, *u-* or *o-*. We have no forms in old Indo-Aryan (except *avāḥ* in R. V., vide Chatterji § 572) or in Middle Indo-Aryan which might be called the ancestors of our modern forms. Chatterji observes that the *ava* base, though not attested by literary dialects, must have been current dialectically. It was current in Iranian and Dardic. But it seems a little strange that none of its forms should have been shown by the Prakrite which have such a variety of pronominal forms. Their first use is found in the Apabhraṃśa (Chatterji, p. 837). I should offer another explanation as an alternative. The proximate demonstrative has initially *i-* *e-*; on its analogy the remote demonstrative came to be indicated by forms with *u-* *o-* as the initial sound. Once *this* way of expression is taken into a language, the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Chatterji, however, thinks that Hin. **soi** < *saṃ* < *saḥ* < \**sa-ka-ḥ*, while Skt. *saḥ* > *sā* > *sa*.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Chatterji thinks that *tāsu* and other -*su* forms are loan-words from literary Apabhraṃśa.

variety of forms would result from an analogy with the forms of the Proximate demonstrative pronoun :

Proximate	Remote
ī	ū
ē	ō, vē
yehu	waḥu, oḥu
yā	wā (vā)
chi	ohi, waḥi
inha	unha

In Modern Awadhi the western dialects observe the distinction of gender just as in adjectives. In Early Awadhi no distinction of gender in pronouns is attested by the texts which all belong to the Eastern Hindi area. The same applies to the Proximate Demonstrative.

### Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 243. The forms of this pronoun are generally found in all the three texts as adjectives and seldom as pronouns except in Tulsīdās. The orthography transcribes *ya* and *e* and *ye* separately, but like modern Awadhi, there does not appear to have been any difference in pronunciation in Early Awadhi as well.

direct	sg.	pl.
	J. <i>yaha, yahu</i>	
	T. <i>yaha, yahu, cha, chu</i>	ē, yē
	N. <i>yaha</i>	yēi, yaha
oblique	J. <i>chi</i>	
	T. <i>chi</i>	inhahī, inahī inha
	N. <i>chi, yā</i>	ina

(a) Direct—Jāyāsī : *yaha pachitāu calatū binu sēvā* 'this is the regret that I am going without having served you' (p. 90), *kō yaha bāta pitā satī cālai* 'who can start this talk with father' (p. 399), *raṭanasēna yahu tahā narēsū* 'this

Ratnasēna is a king there' (p. 616). In one instance the form *iha* is found (*tā kara ikhai jo khānā pianā* 'this only is his meat and drink', p. 7). *Tulsi*: singular—*yaha suni* 'having heard this' (p. 168), *yaha bicāri* 'having considered this' (p. 179), *yaha bicāru ura āni utpa* 'the king having put this thought in his mind' (p. 158), *ēka kahaht yaha bāta alihā* 'some say that this (thing) is untrue' (p. 176), *mohi sama yahu anubhaye na dūjē* 'no one else has experienced this as much as I have' (p. 158), *bimala bamsa yahu anucita ēkū* 'in the untarnished family, this one is improper' (p. 161), *bhaye punita āju yahu gēhū* 'this house has become sanctified to-day' (p. 161), *yahu kacāli kacchu jāna na kōi* 'this evil machination nobody knew' (p. 166), *cha sudhi pāi prayāga nivāsi* 'inhabitants of Prayāg. on getting this news' (p. 199), *satya kaheku giribhava tanu ēhū* 'you have truly said that this body was born from a mountain' (p. 38), *jadyapi cha samujhata haū nīkē* 'although I understand this well' (p. 226), *bharata bhuāla hōht ehu sūci* 'Bharata will become a king, this is true' (p. 165), *sakhā parama paramāratha ēhū* 'my friend, this is the best objective' (p. 193); plural—*ēka kahaht ē sahaja suhāē* 'some said: these are naturally beautiful' (p. 204), *ē dōū dasaratha kē dhōfā* 'both of these are the fondled children of Dasaratha' (p. 96), *yē priya sabahṭ jahā lagi prānī* 'these are dear to all living beings' (p. 94). *Nūr Muhammad*: *ēka kahā yaha bhā matavārā* 'one said: he has become mad' (p. 62), *gurnjana sō yaha binatiya mēri* 'this is my prayer before the elders' (p. 4), *yēi dasa kāmīni samgī, haṭ jōgī tohi jōga* 'O yogin, these ten loving women are thy fit companion' (p. 83), *haṭ hatyāre nayana yaha tēre* 'these, thy eyes, are murderous' (p. 62). In one case the form is *iha* (*ikhai agama kō panthā* 'this is the path to the unreachd', p. 26).

(b) Oblique—*Jāyasī*: *jei na hāfa ehi līnha besāhā* 'whoever did not purchase anything in this market' (p. 56), *ehi mīsa kaharai dēi* 'for this reason, sets up waves'

(p. 98), *ehi bana rahata gai hama āu* 'our life-span has finished up in this forest' (p. 112).

NOTE.—The oblique has been used as inanimate object in several cases, e.g., *ghara paithata pūchaba ehi hārū* 'when I enter the house, they will ask about this necklace' (p. 103), *avahu ehi bana ahāḍi parūhi* 'come let us leave this forest and run away' (p. 112). In an emphatic (inclusive) form we find direct: *āhū kaha asa mayā karāhū* 'do show favour on this also' (p. 470) and in one case the form is *ei*: *ei bikha-cūrai saba budhi phag* 'this food-poison robbed me of all wisdom' (p. 113).

Tulsiḍās: singular—*ehi tē adhika dharamu nah* *dūjā* 'there is no better virtue than this' (p. 181), *pālava baiṭhi pēḍu ehi kāfā* 'the tree has been cut by this (her) sitting at the top' (p. 175), *ehi tau rāma lāi ura līnhā* 'Rāma himself has embraced this one' (p. 233), *ehi avasara* 'at this time' (p. 160), *ehi pāpinihi sūjhi kā pareū* 'what did this sinner think?' (p. 175). In one case the form is *yehi* (*rāma-pēma-bhājana bharata barē na yehi karatūti* 'Bharata was loved by Rāma and was great not on account of this accomplishment' p. 283). In another case the direct *yahu* has been used as oblique (*yahu kula ucita rāma kaha fikā* 'in this family, it is proper to give coronation to Rāma', p. 164); plural—*inḥa kai dasā na kaheū bakhānī* 'I have not given details of their state' (p. 40), *jani sapanehu inḥa kē basa hōhū* 'do not be under their control even in dream' (p. 186), *ehū saba bhā inḥa ākhina āgē* 'all this has occurred before these very eyes' (p. 222), *taru-bara bāsa inḥah* *bidhi dīkhā* 'the Creator gave these, residence under a (good) tree' (p. 204), *inaḥ* *haraprapada barāṣā ākā* 'to these the rainy season gives great joy' (p. 320).

Nūr Muhammad: *ehi kārana mat līnhēū* 'for this reason, I have taken' (p. 43), *āhi samujha ḍara mānata jīū* 'understanding this he is afraid at heart' (p. 58). In one case the form is *yēhi* (*rahiyē yēhi nagara bairāgi* 'O yogin, live in this town', p. 3) and in another *ihi* (*ihi kājā* 'for this reason', p. 30), *yā tē bhātō na aura* 'nothing is better

than this' (p. 43), *yā tē tēhi kachū kātha na āeā* 'owing to this he obtained nothing' (p. 60), *yāhi sē* 'by this very (thing)' (p. 56), *yāhū para* 'even on this' (p. 45), *ina kē bica* 'between these' (p. 3).

NOTE.—In a few cases direct *yaha* is found used with an oblique substantive, e.g., *yaha sapanā kī bāla para* 'on this mention of the dream' (p. 11), *yaha jagā mē* 'in this world' (p. 171).

### II. MODERN AWADHI

§ 244. Lakhimpuri has the following forms:

eg.	pl.
dir. masc. <i>iu</i> , <i>jañu</i> }	
„ fem. <i>jar</i> , <i>jañi</i> }	<i>ix</i>
obl. <i>ix</i> , <i>effi</i>	<i>in</i> , <i>infi</i> .

For instance: *iu* or *jañu gawar* 'this (man) went', *jar* or *jañi gai* 'this (woman) went', *ix haĩ* 'these (men or women) are'; *ix kar* or *effi kar khawaror* 'feed this (man or woman)', *in* or *infi kar khawaror* 'feed these (men or women)'.

(a) Of the dialects S., L., U. and F. agree with Lmp. Br. and R. have *effu* masc. dir. eg. and *jar* fem. dir. eg. and the other cases are the same as in Lmp. Br. has dir. eg. masc. *iu* and dir. pl. as *ix* or *jai*, everywhere else it has *ix*. G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. do not observe distinction of gender, the dir. eg. being *ix* everywhere and the obl. eg. *ix* or *jar* (e.g., Fy. *ja karē*) *effi* and *ex*. The dir. pl. is *jai* (G., Fy., Sl.) and *ex* (P. and A.). The obl. pl. is *ix* in G., Fy. and Sl. and *en* in P. and A. Bgh. has *jar* dir., *jañi* or *jar* obl. eg., *ex*, *enfi* dir. pl., *jan*, *janfi* obl. pl.

(b) In all the dialects the forms of this pronoun are used as adjectives also except that in Lakhimpuri the dir. pl. is used as the obl. pl. also in adjectival uses. For instance: *ix larikar aijer* 'these boys came', *ix larikan ko marrau* 'beat these boys'. In U. the obl. pl. is used as

the subject of past participial verbs, e.g., *infi mairaz* 'these beat (me)', *infi larikan ham kar mairaz* 'these boys beat us'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 245. Sanskrit had two bases *idam* and *etad*. In Awadhi we do not find any descendants of the former. *yahu*, *ehu* both go back to *ēṣaḥ* and *iu* is further decay of the same form. The existence of *iu* and *ehu* side by side in modern Awadhi can be explained by the difference in time at which their ancestors came into the language—*eso* and *ehu* must have been used side by side. In *yaha*, *cha* and *yā* there is the history of *ēṣā*. *ē* goes back to *ēlē*; *yē*, *yai* and *yai* also are closely connected with it.

*iz* appears to be a fresh formation. The oblique *inha* (*ina*, *in*) is a regular form from *i* and *inhahit* is a superimposed oblique.

### Relative and Correlative Pronouns

#### A. EARLY AWADHI<sup>1</sup>

##### § 246.

	sg.	pl.
direct		
	J. <i>jō</i> , <i>jei</i>	<i>jei</i> , <i>jō</i> , <i>jinha</i>
	T. <i>jō</i> , <i>jehi</i>	<i>jā</i> , <i>jinha</i>
	N. <i>jō</i> , <i>jet</i>	<i>jina</i> ( <i>jena</i> )
oblique		
	J. <i>jā</i> , <i>jehi</i> , <i>jāsu</i>	<i>jinha</i>
	T. <i>jā</i> , <i>jehi</i> , <i>jāhi</i> , <i>jāsu</i>	<i>jina</i> , <i>jinha</i> , <i>jinahit</i> , <i>jinahit</i> ;
	N. <i>jā</i> , <i>jehi</i>	<i>jina</i>
adjective	<i>jauna</i> ( <i>javana</i> )	

(a) Direct singular—In all the three texts *jō* is found as the subject or as inanimate direct object while *jei* (*jehi*) as

<sup>1</sup> The forms of the correlative have been shown above under § 240.

the subject of transitive participle verbs only. For instance :

Jāyasī : *dōsara nāht jo sarabari pāvā* 'there is no one else who has obtained equality' (p. 8), *marai jo calai guṅga gali lēi, tehi dina kahā ghaḍī kō dēi* 'he who is going to die and to take the shelter of the Ganges, to him who is it that appoints the auspicious day and the hour?' (p. 242), *jō ḍolāu sō ḍolā* 'what he moves, moves' (p. 11), *sasi caudasi jō dui savārā, tēhū cāhi rūpa ājīārā* 'the moon of the 14th date which the Creator has made beautiful—his beauty was brighter than its' (p. 21); *jei mukha dēkhā tei hasā* 'whoever saw the face, laughed' (p. 33), *duhū jaga tarā nāū jei līnhā* 'whoever took (remembered) the name, crossed both the worlds' (p. 15), *jei jiu dīnhā* 'who gave life' (p. 2).

Tulsīdās : *baranāṭi raghubara-bīmala-jasu, jō dāyaku phala cāri* 'I describe the untarnished glory of the best of Raghus, which gives the four fruits' (p. 157), *munirāja kara joi joi āyasu hōi . . . bāgi karahu soi sōi* 'whatever be the order of the great sage, quickly obey that' (p. 159), *anna so joi joi bhōjana karai, soi soi tara āyasu anusarai* 'whoever eats that food, he will obey your orders' (p. 74), *jō jehi bhāva nika tehi sōi* 'whatever appears good to one, for him that is good' (p. 5), *baia so lunia lahia jō dīnhā* 'whatever is sown is reaped, whatever is given is obtained' (p. 163), *jehi rāura ati anabhala tākā, soi pāihi ehu phalu paripākā* 'he will obtain the fruit of this who has aimed at your evil' (p. 165), *dīnhā hamahī jei īcāna-lāhū* 'who gave to us a gain for our eyes' (p. 205).

Nūr Muhammad : *jō asa bhāria bhāra uḥāi* 'who lifts such a heavy load' (p. 22), *jō nabha au mahi kō bala harā* 'who robbed the earth and the sky of their strength' (p. 22), *jō baca bhākhai adhara tumhārā* 'which words your lip speaks' (p. 14), *kāḍhai sōi bara jō hōi* 'he who will draw up will be the bridegroom' (p. 17), *jet nidrā rasanā para līnhā, bandhu māsa tei bhōjana kīnhā* 'he eats the flesh of his relatives who remains quiet (lit. who takes sleep on his

tongue)' (p. 143), *paṭa bāhara jet pāva pasārā* 'who stretches the feet beyond the cloth' (p. 43).

Direct plural—

Jāyast: *bhā jaga adala dīna jē āyē* 'on whose accepting the religion, justice was established in the world' (p. 16), *bhae dharami jei pādḥata sikhē* 'those who were well-read, became virtuous' (p. 15).

Tulsīdās: *jē* is used with all verbs while *jinha* only with past participle verbs, e.g., *jē niya bhagata nātha tava ahoḥt* 'O Lord, those who are your own devotees' (p. 87), *jē pura gāva basahṭ maga māhṭ, tinḥahṭ nāga-sura-nagara sihāhṭ* 'the cities of the Nāgas and the gods praise those cities and villages which lay on their way' (p. 201), *jē priya parama kaikai kēri* 'who were very dear to Kaikēi' (p. 176), *jinha paṭhaē bana bālaka aisē* 'who sent such boys to the forest' (p. 192), *prathama jāi jinha bacana sunāē, bhūṣana busana bhūri tinḥa pāē* 'Those who first gave the news, they got many ornaments and clothes' (p. 160).

Nūr Muhammad: *jina bina khambha akāsa savārā* 'who (respectful) has arranged the sky without pillars' (p. 1), *jena pahirā aṣṭjana pahirāvā* 'those (eyes) which have put on the collyrium-clothes' (p. 71).

(b) Oblique singular—In all the three texts *jā* has been used always with postpositions. For instance:

Jāyast: *kinḥa sabai asa jā kara* 'whose creation all this is' (p. 2), *jā kahā hōi aisa kanahārā* 'for whom there is such a leader' (p. 24), *jā saṭi vei hēraḥṭ cakhu nāri* 'towards whom those women look with their eyes' (p. 49).

Tulsi: *jā tē avadha anātha na hōi* 'by which Avadha may not be without a Lord' (p. 194), *sādhḥu samāja na jā kara lēkhā* 'who is not counted in the assembly of the good' (p. 231).

Nūr Muhammad: *jā kahā karatā darasa dekhāen* 'to whom, O Lord, you showed yourself' (p. 2), *kinḥā dīna kāraja hai jā sō* 'He has created day, by which action is



possible' (p. 1), *jā kē hiē larika budhi hōi* 'who has childish thoughts in his mind' (p. 4).

*jehi* in Jāyasī is found both with and without postpositions while in Tulsi and Nūr Muhammad it is generally found with postpositions, e.g., Jāyasī: *kīnhesi amī jiai jehi pāi* 'He created nectar by obtaining which one is enlivened' (p. 6), *kīnhesi daraba garaba jehi hōi* 'he created wealth by which one has pride' (p. 5), *ādiku anta rāja jehi chājā* 'whose rule is grand from beginning to end' (p. 8), *sū pai marama jānu jehi nāhi* 'he only knows the value (secret) who has not (got them)' (p. 12), *calai utāila jehi kara khēvā* 'whose paddling (of the oars) is very rapid' (p. 26), *jehi kai asa panihārī sū rānī kahi rūpa* 'what beauty must that queen have, whose water-carriers are such' (p. 49), *dīnhesi tanṭha bōi jehi māhā* 'He has given a throat in which there is speech' (p. 12); Tulsiidas: *soi saba bhāṭi mōra hitakārī jehi ā rahai bhūāla sukhārī* 'he is in every way my benefactor with whom the king remains happy' (p. 188), *jehi na bhāṭ dukha dīna* 'by which (my mothers) are not distressed by misery' (p. 189); Nūr Muhammad: *jehi ka prēma mahā hīyā* 'whose heart is in love' (p. 6), *jehi dekheṭ nisa māha* 'whom I saw at night' (p. 12).

NOTE.—Both in Tulsiidas and in Nūr Muhammad *jā* and *jehi* are found used as adjectives, e.g., *jā mana jānu prēma rasa* 'in which mind love-sentiment has taken a root' (N. p. 6), *jā dīna prēma hākūrai bōi* 'on which day, love comes to call' (N. p. 24), *jehi jehi jāni karama basa bhramahī* 'in whichever birth we have to roam according to our karma, (T. p. 168), *tōra kahā phura jā dīna hōi* 'your word will turn out to be true on which day' (T. p. 163), *jehi phāṭi* 'at which place' (N. p. 2), *jehi rānī kara* 'of which queen' (N. p. 20).

*jāhi* and *jānu* are used without postpositions, the former in the sense of accusative-dative and the latter of genitive, e.g., *aridasa dāns jāvai jāhi*, 'whom fate keeps alive under the enemy' (T. p. 165), *jāhi dīna para nāha* 'who has affection

for the poor' (T. p. 3), *jāhi dharaht muni dhyāna* 'whom the sages keep in mind' (T. p. 55); *barābhā darai catura-mukha jāsū* 'Brahmā who has four faces is afraid' (J. p. 587), *jāsu bhajana binu jarani na jāi* 'without the prayer of whom, the fire (anguish) is not removed' (T. p. 159).

NOTE.—In one case the form is *jisu*: (*saba sūhi sulabha japata jisū nāmā*, 'by meditating upon his (whose) name all the accomplishments become easy' (T. p. 52).

Oblique plural—*jinha* (*jina*) is used with postpositions while accusative-dative *jinhah* (*jinaht*) without postpositions, e.g., *dara nisāna saba jinha kē bājā* 'at whose doors the military music always played' (J. p. 72), *para hita-hāni lābha jinha kērē* 'for whom gain consists in others' loss' (T. p. 4), *para hita ghṛta jinha kē mana mākhī* 'whose minds are like flies in the butter in the shape of others' good' (T. p. 4), *kahā bahula jēna kī mati phēri* 'turned their thoughts by saying a great deal' (N. p. 100); *rāma carana-pānkaja priya jinhah* 'to whom the lotus-feet of Rāma are dear' (T. p. 190), *sumirata jinah* *rāma mana māht* 'whom Rāma remembers in his mind' (T. p. 242).

(c) The relative adjective *jauna* (*javana*) 'which' is found in the texts and changes for gender, e.g., *jaunahi bhāti* 'in whichever way' (J. p. 297), *bāṭekhu mōhi javani dhari dēhā*, *soi tanu dharaku* 'take that body having put on which you have deceived me' (T. p. 62).

#### R. MODERN AWADHI

§ 247. Lakhimpurī has the following forms:

	sg.	pl.
Relative.		
dir.	jor, jaun	jor, jaun, jiz
obl.	jiz, jehi	jīn, jīnī
Correlative		
dir.	soi, taun	soi, taun, tiz
obl.	tiz, tofi	tīn, tīnī

For instance: **jox** or **jaun** **jais** **kariz** **soz** or **taun** **tais** **paziz** 'as one will do so one will get', **jox** or **jaun** or **jiz** **jaifiaĩ** **soz** or **taun** or **tiz** **maiz̃** **khaifiaĩ** 'those who will go will be beaten'; **jiz** **kaz** or **jefi** **kaz** **bolazoz** **tiz** **kaz** or **tefi** **kaz** **khazi** **ko** **deru** 'give (something) to eat to him (or her) whom you call', **jin** **kaz** or **jinf̃** **kaz** **bolazoz** **tin** **kaz** or **tinfi** **kaz** **khazi** **ko** **deru** 'give them (something) to eat whom you invite'.

(a) Of the dialects S., L., U. and F. agree with Lmp.; in B., R. and Br. **jefi** only is used as obl. sg. and **jox** instead of **jiz** in the dir. pl.; similarly in the correlative **tefi** and **tez**. Of the Eastern dialects G. has commonly **jaun** : **taun** and **jex** : **tez** for both the numbers in the direct and **jex**, **jefi**, **tez**, **tefi** sg. and **jenf̃**, **tenfi** in the obl. Similarly, Fy. and Sl. have **jex**, **sez** very commonly and **jaun**, **taun** rarely. P. has

sg.	pl.
dir. <b>jox</b> , <b>jawan</b>	<b>jox</b> , <b>jawan</b> , <b>jex</b>
obl. <b>jex</b> , <b>jefi</b>	<b>jen</b>
dir. <b>tawan</b>	<b>tawan</b>
obl. <b>tez</b> , <b>tawanex</b>	<b>tawanen</b>

Similarly, A. Br., R. and Fy. have an accusative-dative case in the plural **jinf̃ai**, **tinfĩai**. Bgh. has **jaun** **taun** dir. and **jjanfi** **tjanfi** obl. sg. and **jjanfi** for dir. and obl. plural.

(b) The forms of the Third Person pronoun are freely used in place of those of the Correlative, e.g., **jaun**, **uz**.

(c) In all the dialects the forms of this pronoun are used as pronominal adjective also. Such dialects as have a change in adjectives for gender (see § 219) change this adjective also, e.g., Lakhimpuri **jaunĩ** **laũrijaz** : **jauniz** **laũrijaz** etc. In Lmp. **jiz** : **tiz** are commoner than **jin** **jinf̃** : **tin** **tinfi** while in R. the latter are commoner than the former.

Of the Eastern dialects G. and P. report change of gender in the case of this adjective, G. **jauniz** : **tauniz**, P. **jawniz** : **tawniz**.

## C. ORIGIN

§ 248. The initial sound of this pronoun is *j*-Skt. *y*- of ancient relative. **jox** (*jō*) represents Skt. *yah*, Pkt. *jō* while **jox** (sing.) is the Māg. Nominative sg. **JAUN** (*jauna*) represents *yah punah* (Chatterji, p. 842) which was regarded in Middle Indian as one group. *yah* maintains itself as *jō* being a monosyllable while *yah punah* has disintegration first into *ja una* and then into *jauna*, **JAUN**. The interchange of the vocable -u- with va through vu is a regular feature.

Early Awadhi *jei*, *jehi*, *jet* shown under the direct case are really oblique forms (being used as subject in participial construction) derived as Māg. *jē* + *hi* the regular oblique termination. The other oblique *jā* is *yasya* through *jassu*, *jāsu*, *jāhu*, *jāh*, *jā*. We find *jāsu* used side by side with *jā*—the latter has lost its oblique sense and requires a postposition. *jāhi* should be taken as a superimposed oblique. Modern oblique **jiz** and pl. dir. **jiz** are modern formations; the use of *jō* for plural in the texts is modern, on the analogy of nouns; *jō* (dir. pl.) represents Skt. *yē* and *jei* is its emphatic form. *jina*, *jinha*, *jen*, *jenha* are oblique forms of the plural, on the analogy of nouns, based on -*nām* and *jinhah* is a superimposed oblique.

## Interrogative Pronoun

## A. EARLY AWADHI

## § 249.

direct		sg.	pl.
	J., T., N.	<i>kō</i> , <i>kei</i>	<i>kē</i>
oblique	J., T., N.	<i>kā</i> , <i>kehi</i> , <i>kāhi</i> , ( <i>kāsu</i> )	
inanimate	J., T., N.	<i>kā</i> , <i>kāha</i>	
adjective	J., T., N.	<i>kavana</i> ( <i>kauna</i> )	

(a) Direct—*kō* is used with all verbs while *kei* (*kehi*) with past participle verbs only, e.g., *kō pūchai* 'who asks?' (J. p. 123), *kō sari mō saṭ pārai* 'who can obtain equality

with me?' (J. p. 83), *bharata sarisa priya kō jaga māhī* 'who is so dear as Bharata in this world?' (T. p. 160), *kō na kusāṅgati pāi nasāi* 'who is it that does not perish when fallen in bad company?' (T. p. 167), *tā kō mūrata kō likhi pārai* 'who can paint her picture?' (N. p. 13), *kō piya tērā* 'who is thy beloved?' (N. p. 58), *kei yaha basata basanta ujārā* 'who has made this flourishing spring desolate?' (J. p. 445), *kei tava nāsā kāna nipātā* 'who has cut your nose and ears?' (T. p. 304), *kei dārā* 'who has put?' (N. p. 123).

(b) Oblique—*kā* is always used with postpositions, e.g., *kā saū karaū barōka* 'with whom shall I perform the engagement ceremony?' (J. p. 83), *asa nārāga dahū kā kahā rākhē* 'no one knows for whom such oranges have been kept?' (J. p. 201), *kahe na dhyāna dhana kā para ānāhē* 'the lady does not say on whom she has fixed her attention?' (N. p. 36), *mana sō kā kahā sumirai kōū* 'who may remember whom in his mind?' (N. p. 107); *kehi* and *kāhi* are used with or without postpositions, e.g., *dahū kei jōga dai asi gadhī* 'for whom, has the Creator created her fit?' (J. p. 83), *kehi kahā kavāla bigāsū* 'for whom has the lotus bloomed?' (J. p. 183), *gāla karabu kehi kara balu pāi* 'whose support shall I get, to be able to be proud?' (T. p. 163), *nahī jānahā bāura kehi nēh* 'I do not know for whom he is mad?' (N. p. 55); *kahau so pira kāhi binu khagā* 'tell us your trouble, without whom are you miserable?' (J. p. 223), *nyaratha kāhi para kijia rōū* 'on whom should anger be shown uselessly?' (T. p. 224).

*kāsu* is genitive, e.g., *kahia hōi bhala kāsu bhalāi* 'please say, whose good can come about?' (T. p. 261).

(c) The inanimate interrogative pronoun is used to denote 'what?'. It is used in the direct, the oblique of the animate serves for the oblique of the inanimate also. For instance: *kā baranaū* 'what shall I describe?' (J. p. 61), *karaū kā bhōi* 'hallo! what shall I do?' (T. p. 28), *kā jānai sukha bhōga bhulānū* 'what shall a man who forgets

himself in the enjoyment of happiness, know?' (N. p. 11), *na janatī kāha hoiki kabilāsā* 'I do not know what shall happen in Kailāsa?' (J. p. 468), *aba dhātū bidhihi kāha karaniyū* 'what will the Creator do now?' (T. p. 214)

(d) The pronouns given above are also used as adjectives, e.g., *kahu kehi rañkahi karatī narēsū* 'tell me which poor person I shall make a king?' (T. p. 167), *kehi dēsa* 'in which country?' (N. p. 40).

The adjective *kavana* (*kauna*) is very generally used in all the texts. It changes forms for gender in Jāyasi generally and in Tulsiḍās always while never in Nūr Muhammad. It changes for case in all the texts. For instance :

Jāyasi : *kāunu utara pāubī* 'what answer shall we have?' (p. 97), *na janatī kaunu pavana lei āvā* 'God knows which wind has brought (it)?' (p. 104), *kauni mati matī* 'what opinion has been held?' (p. 223), but *kavana bhātī* 'in which way?' (p. 11).

Tulsi : *kāranu kavānu* 'what is the reason?' (p. 172), *kavani bipatī barī bhārī* 'what great calamity?' (p. 312), *kavani āsā* 'what hope?' (p. 177), *kavanē avasara* 'on what occasion?' (p. 169).

Nūr Muhammad : *kavana panthā tar lūhā* 'what path hast thou taken?' (p. 58), *kavana jāta hai* 'what is thy caste?' (p. 45), *kauna bhalāī* 'what goodness?' (p. 29), *rākhai kaunē māna* 'in which way will (he) keep?' (p. 92).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 250. Lakhimpurī has the following forms :—

animate

	sg.	pl.
dir.	koz, kaun	koz, kaun
obl.	kiz, kefi	kin, kinf

inanimate

dir.	kar
obl.	karfiez, kefi

For instance: **kor** or **kaun aīwax hai** 'who has come?', **huāz.kor** or **kaun raśīāĩ** 'who were there?', **kiz kaz** or **keśi kaz bolareu** 'whom (sg.) did you call?', **kin kaz** or **kinśi kaz bolareu** 'whom (pl.) did you call?'.

(a) Of the dialects, S., L. and U. agree with Lmp., F. has obl. sg. as **kaśi**. B. has obl. sg. as **keśi** and obl. pl. as **kaun**. Br. dir. is like Lmp., only **kaun** is pronounced as **kaun̄**; obl. sg. is **keśi**, **kośi** and obl. pl. does not differ from Lmp. In R. obl. sg. is **kaśi**. All the Eastern dialects have only one form for the dir. sg. and pl. viz., **kor**; this is also sometimes used as obl. otherwise **keśi** or **keś** is used in the sg. and **ken** in the pl. **kaun** is rarely used in the Eastern dialects, the form in P. being **kawan**. Bgh. has **kaun** dir., **kjaśi** obl. sg. and **kjan**, **kjanśi** as both dir. and obl. plural. Inanimate dir. is **kaxśi**, obl. **kaiz**. In G. the obl. forms **kaunex**, **kauniz** are used.

(b) In all the dialects the inanimate dir. 'what?' is **kax**. The obl. differs. Lmp., S., L., U., F., B., Br. have **kaxśex**, R. **kaxśex**, **kaśi**, G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. have **keśi**, **kaxśex**, **kethuax** and **kethax**, **kaxśex** or **keśax**, e.g., **kethax se bādarowan ko hārkiz** 'with what shall I drive the monkeys?'.

(c) All the dialects use **kaun** as the pronominal adjective and modify it according to case and gender (§ 219) as they do in the case of ordinary adjectives. For instance:

Lmp. **kaun̄ laūrijax** 'which girl?', **kauniz laūrijax ko** 'to which girl?', **kaunex larikawa ko** 'to which boy?', S.E. Sultānpurī: **kaunex tarax** 'in which manner?', **kaunex sazmān se** 'with what preparation?'.

## C. ORIGIN

§ 251. The history of the Interrogative pronoun is closely allied with that of the Relative pronoun, e.g., **kor** represents *kaḥ*, **kez** < Skt. *kā*; *kei*, *kehi*, are oblique forms, *kā*

is based on *kasya*; *kāuna* < Pkt. *ka+una*; Mod. **kāfi** < Early Aw. *kāhi*; **kofi** is absolutely modern.

Here, however, we find that the distinction between animate and inanimate is observed in Modern Awadhi and is attested by Early Awadhi. This is very clear for the direct—animate *kā*, inanimate *kā̃*. What is the derivation of this *kā*? Skt. had *kiṃ* for the neuter, but that has survived only as *ki* indeclinable. Besides *kā*, Early Aw. has *kāha*. Is this *ha* merely emphatic? The forms **kethar**, **kethuar** and **kārīez** also are untraced historically.

### Reflexive Pronoun

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

##### § 252.

direct

J., T. *āpu* (*āpuna*), N. *āpa*

oblique

J., T. *āpu*, *āpuhi*, N. *āpa*, *āpuhi*

adjective

masc. dir. J., T. *āpana*, *āpuna*, *apāna*,  
N. *āpana*, *apanā*, *āpanā*, *āpunu* (*āpa*),  
fm. J., T. *āpani*, fm. obl. T., N. *apani*, *āpani*  
masc. obl. J., T. *apanā*, N. *apanā*, *āpanā*, *apānā*,

(a) Direct—e.g., *guru hoi āpu kīnha jāga cālā* 'himself becoming the preceptor, he made the world his pupil' (J. p. 132), *sabahi khiāvai āpu na khāi* 'he feeds all but himself does not eat' (J. p. 7), *rāma jāsu jasa āpu bakhānā* 'whose glory Rāma himself has sung' (T. p. 12), *āpu lasana para baiṭheu jāi* 'himself he went and sat near Lakshmana' (T. p. 192), *līnha vidhāvapana apajasu āpū* '(she) herself obtained widowhood and infamy' (T. p. 227), *āpa dharama dāhi hai rājā* 'the king himself is incarnation of Dharma' (N. p. 15), *rājā rahai āpa tehi māhi* 'the king himself lives in that' (N. p. 8).



NOTE 1. Besides being used as a subject, *āpu* is found used as (inanimate) object also in the following instances: *gunt na kṛi āpu sarāhi* 'no skilful person praises himself' (J. p. 130), *mindahi āpu sarāhi nisādaḥi* 'having admired Nisāda, they censure themselves' (T. p. 236).

NOTE 2. In Tulu there is one instance of *āpuna* (*āpuna calen* 'himself went' p. 79).

(b) Oblique—*āpu* or *āpa* is used with postpositions while *āpuhi* (-*ṭ*) without them, e.g., *āpu āpu kaha hṛiḥi* 'every one will be (busy) for one's own self' (J. p. 97), *āpu āpu mahā rōdana karaḥi* 'weep amongst themselves' (J. p. 113); *jāni āpu para nāḥu* 'having known (their) affection for himself (Lakshmana)' (T. p. 211), *bōlē bacana āpa mahā miḥḥē* '(they) spoke sweet words amongst themselves' (N. p. 101), *ēka pāva dē āpa para* 'putting one foot on thyself' (N. p. 51); *risa āpuhi budhi aurahi khāi* 'anger harms self while wisdom another' (J. p. 145), *jō jānai sata āpuhi jārā* 'he who knows the truth, burns himself (his self)' (J. p. 323), *barabhāgini āpuhi anumāni* 'having considered themselves very lucky' (T. p. 240), *jaga au āpuhi kasa pahicānē* 'how do I take myself and the world?' (N. p. 3), *cālā āpuhi jāni* 'having considered myself to be a disciple' (N. p. 21), *āpuhi paragaḥa karai nidānā* 'ultimately (beauty) reveals itself' (N. p. 6).

(c) The adjective is frequently used. For instance: Jāyast: *jō pin āpana kahai so jhūṭhā* 'he who says 'the beloved is mine' is a liar' (p. 144), *āpuna nāḥi kayā* 'the body is not one's own' (p. 307), *dōsa apānā* 'the fault is ours' (p. 116), *pahara pahara sō āpani bārī* 'after every watch, every one on one's turn' (p. 64), *kūta āuna puni apānē āṭṭhā* 'whence would the coming back be in our hand (control)' (p. 96), *au apānē apānē ghara rājā* 'and (they are) kings in their own houses' (p. 67).

Tulu: *āpana mōra nika jō calahū* 'if you want your own good and mine' (p. 181), *tahā puni sambḥu samuḥi*

*pāna āpana* 'there Śiva considering his vow' (p. 80), *sabahi apana sudhi bhāri bhāi* 'everyone lost an idea about oneself' (p. 136), . . . *suba āpani karanī . . . baranī* 'she described her own action' (p. 220), *jō pārāru aponi jāratāi, tumhaht sugāi* 'the wretched man who suspects you owing to his own ignorance' (p. 229), *kṛpū bhalāi āpanī, nātha kīnha bhala mōra* 'my lord has acted well towards me by his own kindness and goodness' (p. 273), *phirata sanēha magana sukha apañē* '(they) move about imbued with affection and in their own happiness' (p. 15), *apanē calata* 'as far as lay in my power' (p. 165).

Nūr Muhammad : *jaba mat āpana nāma bhulāvati* 'when I lose memory of my own name' (p. 25), *kaṭa cāhai apa mahimā, laṭa āpana marajāda* 'the loin wished its greatness while the lock of hair its own respect' (p. 138), *apanō citra cīṭarā dēkhi . . .* 'the painter seeing his picture' (p. 71), *dhana jō mitra āpanō cīnhā* 'blessed is he who recognises his friend' (p. 54), *bāta samēfahu āpunū* 'finish your talk' (p. 24), *apanī apañī āṭa ṭē* 'with one's own money (in the folds of his cloth)' (p. 9), *āneu apañē gēha* 'brought (her) to his house' (p. 17), *gaī āpanē grēha* 'went to her house' (p. 52), *tohi lai calahū apānē gāū* 'shall take you to my village' (p. 102).

NOTE 1. The Sanskrit forms *sva* and *nija* have also been occasionally used.

NOTE 2. *āpusa* (*sakhina matā āpusa mō kīnhū* 'the friends settled amongst themselves', p. 100).

(d) Honorific pronouns are not found in Jāyāsī or Nūr Muhammad. But we find in Tulśīdās both *āpu*<sup>1</sup> as the honorific pronoun and *rāura* (*rāvura*) as honorific genitive

<sup>1</sup> Greaves (Grammar of the Rāmāyan, p. 15) denies the existence of *āpu* as honorific and rightly criticises Growse's translation of the 2nd Caupī after Dohē No. 177 on p. 87 of the Rāmāyan, but the instances quoted here do prove the use of *āpu* as honorific.

adjective. For instance: *saba samēta pura dhāria pāū*, *āpu ikā amarāvati rāū* 'Please step into (enter) the city with all; you are here and the king is in Amarāvati' (p. 254), *prabhu priya pūjya pitā sama āpū* 'you are just like my father—my master, adorable and dear' (p. 271), *gyāna ambu nidhi āpuna ājū* 'you yourself are the ocean of knowledge' (p. 271); *rājana rāura nāma jasa* 'O King, your name and glory' (p. 159), *rāuri māyā* 'your māyā' (p. 170), *sarāhana rāvari* 'your praise' (p. 236), *hita sabahi kara raurē hūthā* 'every one's good is in your hands' (p. 270).

### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 253.

#### Aponax

This pronoun expresses a reflexive sense for emphasis and is used with all personal pronouns and with nouns without any change in form, e.g., *raim Aponax tau ban kar caler gajer dasarath ko roxwai ko ghar chāxij ger* 'Rām himself went away to the forest but left Dasaratha at home to lament', *Aponax tau khazinij piinij* '(he) himself ate and drank', *Aponax tum coraxeu au ham kar corrix lagaxeu* 'you yourself stole (the money) and attributed the theft to me' *mai Aponax maraū calai jiaū tum sex kar matlabq* 'whether I myself die or live what have you to do with me', *ui Apona ko bāñut bñalax burax kañinij* 'he rebuked himself very much'.

(a) This pronoun also expresses the combined sense of 'you and I' sometimes, e.g., *bñarix Apana se kar matlabq* 'my friend, what have we to do with it?'

(b) The form of this pronoun in all the dialects is the same. When the sense of 'all alone by one's self' is to be expressed we have *āpui āpū* in Lmp. and other Western and Central dialects while *Apunai* in the Eastern dialects.

(c) This pronoun is also used as an adjective, e.g., Lmp. *Apan, Apanij, Apanex, Apanix*. In the Eastern dialects

the form is **azpañ**, e.g., **Fv. azpañ kitazb, azpañ larikaz** 'one's book, one's son'.

(d) There are no honorific pronouns in Modern Awadhi like Hindustani **azp** or Bihari **rauwär**. When honour or respect is shown, special care is taken to use the plural pronoun and verb. Sometimes the Hindustani form **azp** is borrowed as **azp̃**. With this the verb used is that for the second person plural instead of the third person verb or the passive verb of Hindustani. For instance: Lmp. **azp̃ azou**, Hindustani **azp azije:ga:** 'please do come', Lmp. **azp̃ jazū**, Hin. **azp jazijez** 'please go'.

In Bgh. owing to the influence of Bhojpurī **Aponaz** dir. and **Aponex** obl. are used as honorific pronoun, e.g., **Aponaz mwāñī bwakorau bñar naññi: diza** 'your honour never gave even a goat to me', **Aponaz ke:r** 'your honour's'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 254. The forms with **a-** (**Λ-**) and **ā-** are all based on Skt. *ātman* which in Mid. Indian came to have two developments *appa* and *atta* (Chatterji § 591). The **-p-** form is found in Awadhi, Early Aw. **āpu** < *appa*. The modern form **Aponaz** is based on the genitive pl. *appānaṃ* which is used as an adjective in a variety of forms, but the presence of old Nominative is attested by modern emphatic forms such as **azpui azpu**. The use of *ātman* is also verified by a noun in Awadhi **Apaz** 'selfness'; **āpusa** < *appasa*.

The honorific use of this word is not Awadhi properly. That it was used honorifically in Mid. Indian is shown by the word *attā* 'mother-in-law, a respected lady'. In Early Awadhi we find the honorific adjective **rāura**, **rāvari** etc. This is a borrowing from Bhojpurī where the pronoun **rauwär** is freely in use. **rāura** is based on *rājan* and has the **-ra** of the postposition *kara*. These forms are distinct from Hin. *rāwal* < *rājakula*.

## Indefinite Pronouns

## A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 255. *aura* and its equivalents  
direct

*aura*, *auru* (*aurana* pl. only); *āna*

obl.

*aurahi* (*aurana* pl. only); *ānahi*

adjective *parā-*

Forms of *aura* 'other' are found in all the three texts. For instance :

Jāyasi : *aura jo hōi so bāura andhā* 'anybody else who be, is mad and blind' (p. 10), *aura jo dīnha jagatu maha* 'whatever else has been given in this world' (p. 8), *aura jo bhūlē āutahi* 'others who have lost (the way) while coming' (p. 16), *budhi aurahi khāi* 'wisdom eats (destroys) another' (p. 145), *kō auru narēsā* 'which other king?' (p. 162), *vei tau uṛē auru bana tākā* 'they flew and aimed at another forest' (p. 112).

Tulsī : *auru karui aparādha kou aura pāu phala bhōgu* 'somebody else commits a fault and another obtains the enjoyment of the fruit (punishment)' (p. 187), *aura karahi kō bharata barāi* 'who can give more praise to Bharata', (p. 257), *aurau jē hari bhagata sujānā* 'others also who are wise and are devoted to Hari' (p. 18).

Nūr Muhammad : *darasa dēkhi jō jiya tajaṭi yāṭē bhaṭō na aura* 'if having seen (her) I give up life, nothing else will be better than this' (p. 43), *tohi taji aurahi dhyāna na lāroi* 'he will not fix his attention on any one else except you' (p. 62), *aurana kahā calahu vahi vōrā* 'the others said : let us go to that side' (p. 56), *aurana sō mānuṣa niyarānū* 'the man approached the others' (p. 34).

(a) Besides *aura*, forms of *āna* and *parā-* are found in Tulsīdās and Nūr Muhammad, e.g., *āna upāya banihi nahī bātā* 'in any other way, nothing fruitful will result'

(T. p. 190), *saputka tumhāra bharata kui ānā* 'I take your oath and another of Bharata' (T. p. 174), *mohi taji ānahi barihi na bhōrē* 'she will surely not choose anybody other than me' (T. p. 61), *sunī dui bāta āna sē rānī* 'O queen, after having heard two words from another' (N. p. 62), *daraba jo āna kō* 'another's money' (N. p. 109); *pisuna parāya pāpa kahi dēhī* 'backbiters who give out other's sin' (T. p. 222), *munihī mōha mana kātha parāē* 'owing to his infatuation, the sage's heart was in other's hands' (T. p. 61), *dēkhi na sakahi parāi bibhūsi* 'cannot look at another's prosperity' (T. p. 162), *jaba bhayen parāvā* 'when it became another's' (N. p. 104).

§ 256.

kōi

direct animate

kōi, kāhu, kou

oblique

kāhu, kāhi, kehu, kāhuki

direct inanimate

J. *kichu*, T. *kachu*, *kichu*, N. *kachu*, *kichu*, *kucha*

(a) direct animate—In Jāyasī the most common forms are *kōi* and *kāhū*; I have found only two instances of *kōū*. For instance: *na kōi rahā* 'nobody survived' (p. 5), *nā koi hoihai ohī kē rūpā* 'nobody will be like him' (p. 11), *asa jagā dāna na kāhū dīnhā* 'no one in the world has given such a gift' (p. 23), *sērasāhi sari pūja na kōū* 'no one has reached the equality of Sher Shah' (p. 23), *nayana bāka sari pūja na kōū* 'the eyes are charming, nothing equals (them)' (p. 174).

In Tulsīdās *kou* is frequently used while *kōi* and *kāhū* are less in use, e.g., *kou nṛpa hōu* 'anybody may become king' (p. 163), *dāru bicāru ki karai kou* 'does any one pay an attention to the wood?' (p. 8), *jasa karai na kōi* 'as nobody does' (p. 177), *kāhu na mohī kahi prathama janāvā* 'no one gave me an indication of it before' (p. 175).

In Nūr Muḥammad *kou* and *kōi* both are frequently used while *kāhu* is less in use, e.g., *tahi sama kōu na āhi* 'there

is no one like him' (p. 1), *kou śhārkhā hai dhyāna lagāē* 'some one is standing with fixed attention' (p. 16), *na kōpehu kōi* 'please do not, any one of you, be angry' (p. 4), *mōfi kārha na pārai kōi* 'no one can draw the pearl out' (p. 17), *rasa sugandha kahā chārā kāhū* 'some one gave up taste (tasteful meal) and good smell' (p. 12).

(b) oblique—In Jāyasl the most general form is *kāhū* which is used with postpositions, e.g., *ohi na kāhu kai āsa nirāsū* 'he has neither hope nor despair from (of) any person' (p. 7), *kōi karai besāhanā kāhū kēra bikāi* 'some one was making a purchase while another's article was selling' (p. 56), *rini kāhū kara linhesi kādhi* 'he borrowed money of some one' (p. 120). *kāhuki* is used without postpositions, e.g., *kāhuki bhōga bhuguti sukha sārā* 'to some one enjoyment of objects of pleasure and the best of happiness' (p. 7); there is only one instance of *kāhi* (*bāura karihai kāhi* '(he) will make some one mad' p. 132), and two instances of *kehu*, viz., *koi kehu pāsa āsa kai garānā* 'some one has gone to some one with hope' (p. 130), *jañ na hōta āsa bairī, kehu kāhū kai āsa* 'if there were not such an enemy, would any one have dependence on another?' (p. 129).

In Tulsidās, only two forms *kāhu* and *kāhuki* are found, the latter is always found without postpositions while the former is with postpositions except when it comes as accusative, e.g., *kāhuki dōsa dēhu jani lātā* 'dear (son) do not blame any one' (p. 221), *sanamukha bimukha na kāhuki kōū* '(it) is not against any one who comes before it' (p. 261), *apanē calata na āju lagi anabhala kāhu ka kīnha* 'as far as I could, I have never done harm to (of) any one till now' (p. 165), *tehi nisi nīda parī naht kāhū* 'that night, no one had sleep' (p. 172).

In Nūr Muhammad, only *kāhū* is found and it is used with postpositions, e.g., *hai kāhū kō prēma diyōgi* '(he) is lovelorn of somebody' (p. 55), *jaga mō kāhū sātha* 'with anyone in this world' (p. 81).

(c) direct inanimate—For instance, *Jāyasī: kathaḥ kathā kahai kichu kṛi* 'somewhere, some one was reciting a story' (p. 59), *tasa jaga kichū na pāṣṭi upama dēṭi ohi jōga* 'I have obtained nothing such in this world as could be compared with her' (p. 217);

*Tulsi: kou kichu kahai na kou kichu pūchā* 'no one said anything, nor did anyone ask anything' (p. 252), *kachu jāna na kṛi* 'nobody knew anything' (p. 166), *kachu kahai* 'I say something' (p. 167);

*Nūr Muhammad: jō kōṭi kachu lēvai cāhai* 'if any one wanted to take anything' (p. 9), *kachu na sunāen bāta* 'did not say a word' (p. 26), *kichu upāya nahi āvai* 'no means have I' (p. 51), *kichu hamāra cintā hai tōhī* 'have you any anxiety for me?' (p. 84), *tapiya kahā rājā kachu sūjhā* 'the hermit said: O king, have you seen anything?' (p. 21).

§ 257.

saba

direct

saba

oblique

saba, sabahi

(a) direct—*maṅgala kalasa sajana saba lāgī* 'all began to arrange the auspicious kalasas (jars)' (T. p. 160), *ṛṣṭa saba rahakṛi kṛpā abhilāṣē* 'all the kings remain desirous of his favour' (T. p. 158), *saba sumirata hai tāhi* 'all that remembers him' (N. p. 1), *rasanā hōi rōma saba mōhī* 'if all my hair becomes tongue' (N. p. 2), *sabu pāyēṭi* 'obtained all' (T. p. 158), *karatēṭi jiu tana mana saba vārana* 'I would have sacrificed all—life, body and mind' (N. p. 3).

(b) oblique—in *Jāyasī* the oblique is found used with postpositions except *sabahi* used as accusative-dative, e.g., *saba kahā bhuguti rāti dina bāṭā* 'he gives enjoyment to every one, day and night' (p. 7), *vaha saba saṭi saba ohi saṭi baratā* 'all are knitted with him and he with all' (p. 10), *mādīra mādīra saba kē caupārī* 'there are sitting-halls in the houses of all' (p. 57), *jāvata jiu saba kara bhakha-dātā*



'you are the giver of meals of all beings that are' (p. 107), *tā kara disiṭi sabahi uparāhl* 'his glance is on every one' (p. 7), *sabahi khiārai āpu na khāi* 'he feeds all, but himself he does not eat' (p. 7).

In Tu'isidās and Nūr Muhammad *saba* is used with postpositions and *sabahi* (accusative-dative) without them, e.g., *saba kē ura abhilāsu wa* 'such was the desire in everyone's heart' (T. p. 158), *sabahi rānu priya* 'Ilāma is dear to every one' (T. p. 158), *sabahi suhāi* 'if it is pleasant to all' (T. p. 164), *saba kaka sūdhī būṭa calārai* 'he puts everyone on the right path' (N. p. 9), *tehi sumirana mō sabahi anandā* 'by remembering Him, delight (comes) to everyone' (N. p. 56).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

##### § 258.

##### Aur

This pronoun expresses the sense of 'more', 'other', 'another (else)' and is constant in form in all the dialects, e.g., Lmp. *Aur kar caṭiz* 'what more is wanted?', *thorrez manāiz hiāz haī Aur huāz* 'a few men are here, others are there', *Aur aziz haī* 'other (women) have come'.

(a) When used as an adjective it changes for gender and case as indicated in § 219. For instance: Lmp. *Aur, Aurī, Aurez, Auriz*.

(b) There are two other adjectives *parāiz* and *aziz* used in the same sense of 'other'. For instance, Lmp. *parāiziz meṭārua ko no dekhai ko caṭiz* 'one should not look at another's wife', *parāizrez dīān sex kaunp paroz jān* 'what business (have we) with another's property?', *ham azinez gāzu ko gajez raṭiān* 'I had been to another village'.

##### § 259. Lmp. *koiz*

It means 'some one', 'any one' and is constant in form, e.g., *koiz azwar hai, koiz aziz hai* 'some one (male or

female) has come', **kozi ko ne mazrau** 'do not beat any one', **kozi nariz rabaĩ** 'there were no people'.

(a) This does not change even as an adjective, e.g., **kozi** **Admir** 'some man', **kozi mešaruaz** 'some woman'.

(b) R.S. and L. have **kozi**, U., F., Br., R. **koruz** (**koršuz**), G., Fy., Sl., P. and A. have **keruz** (**keřšuz**).

(c) Like interrogative inanimate **kaz** 'which thing?', indefinite inanimate **kuchp** direct and **kazšeu** oblique mean 'something, anything'; the form for this in Eastern dialects is **kuchuz** dir. For instance: **ham kuchp nariz kišen** 'I did not do anything', **ham kazšeu se peřty bšarj lišen** 'I filled my stomach with something.'

## § 260.

**sab**

It means 'all' and has one constant form for both the genders and cases, e.g., **sab kišinj** 'all did it', **sab kaz khawaroz** 'feed all'. It does not change as an adjective also, e.g., **sab mešaruan se gaunaz gawaroz** 'cause all the women to sing', **sab Admin se ham ser kozi matlab nariz** 'I have nothing to do with all men'.

(a) All the dialects have the same form **sab**. The Eastern dialects have an accusative-dative form **sabai** (emphatic **sabzai** or **sabzaij**).

## C. ORIGIN.

§ 261. (a) The forms of **Aur**, **azn**, **paraiz**, mostly adjectives, are attested by Early Awadhi and go back to Skt. *apara*, *anya* and *para* (-kāra) respectively.

(b) The forms **kozi** (*kōi*), **koruz** (*kou*) and **keruz** all go back to OIA *kōpi*. We find that instead of being elided the last vowel has been strengthened; this might be due to emphasis. This pronoun is always used emphatically corresponding to English 'anyone', 'not one' etc. -uz from -pi. -ri is not regular. It is decidedly on the analogy of Nom. sg. of the nouns. **keruz** is based on Mag. Nom. sg. *kā*.

(c) A distinction between animate and inanimate is maintained in this pronoun. **kichu** keeps the -i of *kim* while *kachu* and *kuchu* do not have it. The forms should be traced to some form of the pronoun *kim cid*. Probably it is *kascid*; cf. Aśoka *kici* and *kicchi*. Final -n is perhaps a particle (Chatterji, p. 845). See also Turner: Nep. Dio. under *kuchu*.

(d) **sab** (E. Aw. *saba*) goes back to *sarva* and **sabai** (E. Aw. *sabahi*) is the oblique form. The -b becomes long in emphasis and in other languages (e.g., Nepali) it becomes aspirated. The expected form is \***sazb**, however.

### Compound Pronouns

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 262. The relative pronoun is combined with forms of *kōi*, *saba* with *kōi* and *aur* with *kōi*, e.g.,

Jāyasi : *saba kōi* 'everyone' (p. 123), *saba kichu* 'everything' (p. 11).

Tulsi : *jehi kēhi* 'to whomsoever' (p. 270), *jō kachu* 'whatsoever' (p. 158), *saba kon* 'everyone' (p. 170), *saba kōhū* 'to every one' (p. 176), *saba kēhi* 'to all' (p. 241), *auru kon* 'anyone else' (p. 187).

Nūr Muhammad : *jō kōi* 'whoever' (p. 15), *jō kon* 'whoever' (p. 74), *jō kuchu* 'whatever' (p. 1), *jō kichu* 'whatever' (p. 56), *saba kōhū para* 'on everybody' (p. 8), *saba kōi* 'everyone' (p. 44).

#### H. MODERN AWADHI

§ 263. The relative pronoun is combined with **koriz** and **sab** and **sab** with **koriz**, e.g., Lmp. **sab koriz** 'everyone', **jox koriz** 'whoever', **jix sab arjex** 'all who came'. **sab** is also added to personal pronouns, e.g., **ham sab** 'we all', **tum sab** 'you all', **ui sab** 'they all'. **Aur** also is combined with **koriz** or **sab**, e.g., **Aur koriz** 'anybody else', **Aur sab** 'all else'.

(a) The dialects have corresponding forms. For instance: Fy. *jor keur khizsar jarnat hori ter kafi* 'whoever may be knowing a tale should relate (it)', P. *jawan kuchy*, Br. *jor kour*, R. *sab kuchau*.

## Pronominal Adjectives

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 264. The texts have pronominal adjectives of manner, quantity and number based on the demonstrative, relative-correlative and interrogative pronouns. For instance:

(a) of manner

Jāyāsī: *asa diyā* 'such a lamp' (p. 78), *asi kathā* 'such a tale' (p. 78), *asi jā kari dasā* 'whose condition is such' (p. 55), *jasa amcala jhīnai mahā diyā, tasa ūjiāra dekhāvai kiyā* 'as the lamp under a thin linen, similarly shines the light in the heart' (p. 78), *jasa cāda* 'as the moon' (p. 24), (*vaha*) *aisa rahā* 'he was such' (p. 11), *aisī bithā raini saba jāgai* 'she wakes for the whole night owing to such a disease' (p. 378).

Tulsī: *abhilāṣu asa* 'such a desire' (p. 158), *asi nīfi* 'such a polity' (p. 161), *tasi mati jasi bhābi* 'as the fate, so the thoughts' (p. 164), *kasi kubēsātā phābi* 'what manner of bad appearance came up' (p. 167), *aisehu kājā* 'even in such a cause' (p. 173), *aiseu bacana kathōra suni* 'even on hearing such harsh words' (p. 183), *tulasī, jasi bhavitavyatā taisī milai sahāya* 'O Tulsī, one gets such help as the ordination is' (p. 71), *chabi jaisī . . . sōha na taisī* 'as the beauty is . . . so it does not shine' (p. 8).

Nūr Muḥammad: *asa sapānā mat dēkhesī* 'I saw such a dream' (p. 5), *jasa pūjia hōi* 'as the capital be' (p. 30), *acaraja aisa* 'such a marvellous thing' (p. 5), *kērahū aisiya rānī* 'find out such a queen' (p. 117), *jaisō rahai tayasa*

*puni hōi* 'as (it) was so it will become' (p. 33), *nahṭ jānahṭ sira pariḥai kaisō, khēlahu hōi khēlanā jaisō* 'it is not known what manner (of fate) will befall us, let us have (such) a play as (we want)' (p. 53).

(b) of quantity

Jāyasi : *etanā bōla* 'so much speech' (p. 555), *etanī bōli* 'in this much speech' (p. 289), *duijahṭ jōti kahā jaga ṭā* 'where in the world, is there that much light on the second date?' (p. 168), *dukha jētā* 'that much of misery' (p. 158), *itē rūpa bhāi kaniā* 'that girl was of so much beauty' (p. 80).

Tulsi : *etanā kahata* 'while he said so much' (p. 232), *janu etania birañci karatūñ* 'as if this much was the whole capacity of the creator' (p. 158), *etanai kaheu bharata sana jāi* 'say only this much to Bharata' (p. 218), *ētehu dukha* 'even on so much misery' (p. 221), *kahi jāta na jētā* 'as much (love) as cannot be described' (p. 253), *kētika bātā* 'what amount of regard' (p. 256), *kētika bārā* 'what delay' (p. 161).

Nūr Muhammad : *hai ētō upakāra* 'there is so much of good deed' (p. 61), *ētō sugharāi para* 'on this much of good finish' (p. 92), *dukha jētō pātā* 'as much misery as (it) got' (p. 67), *jētō . . . tētō* 'so much . . . as' (p. 52), *ketikō prīta* 'how so much affection' (p. 51), *jata . . . jōgū, lata . . . bhōgū* 'as much *yōga*, so much of enjoyment' (p. 169).

(c) of number

Jāyasi : *vakata ka bōda kayā jata ahahī* 'as many drops of blood as are in the body' (p. 577), *jāvata kēsa rōva pakhi pakhā* 'as many hair (on the head and on the body), birds and feathers as (there are in this world)' (p. 13), *ehi dharai asa kētana tītā* 'this Earth has swallowed how many such (parrots)' (p. 110).

Tulsi : *raghupati-carana-upāsaka jētā* 'as many devotees of the feet of the Lord of Raghus (as there are)'

(p. 12), *saila himācala ādika jētē, citrakūṣa jasu gāvahē tētē* 'as many mountains, Himalayas, etc., as there are, all of them sing the glory of Citrakūṣa' (p. 211), *dēkhē jūtē, hafē hama kētē* 'how many did we see, conquer and kill?' (p. 301).

Nūr Muhammad: *sundaratā kō lacchana jētē, pyāri cērē tērē tētē* 'as many characteristics of beauty as there are, all those are thy servants, my dear' (p. 91), *jētika ahas kāya ruda aṅgū, vētika karahū tāla miradaṅgū* 'as many noises as there are in the limbs of the body, I shall make them offer tempo to the drum' (p. 34), *jaita phūla phala patriya cāhi, tāvata āgama pura mō āhī* 'as many flowers, fruits and leaves as are required, all those are in Āgamapura' (p. 14), *jāvata jōyī rahā samājā, tāvata kīnhā prēmīya rājā* 'as many Yogis as were in the assembly, the king made all of them lovers' (p. 22).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 265. Awadhi has pronominal adjectives based on the demonstrative, relative, correlative, and interrogative pronouns. These are of manner (quality), of quantity and of number.

### (a) Adjective of manner

Lmp. *ais* 'of this sort', *was* 'of that sort', *jas* . . . *tais* 'such as', *kais* 'of which sort?'.

S., L., U., F., Br. and R. agree with Lmp. B. has *as* 'of this sort', *was*, *tas* 'of that sort', *jas* 'as', *kas* 'of which sort?'. Similarly G., Sl. and Fy. agree with Lmp.

### (b) Adjective of quantity

Lmp. *etraz* or *atraz* 'so much', *otraz* 'that much', *jetraz tetraz* 'as much as', *ketraz* 'how much?'.

S., L., U., F., Br., Fy. and Sl. agree with Lmp. The latter two with B. and G. have *etanaz* 'so much', *otanaz* or *tetanaz* 'that much', *jetanaz* 'as much', and *ketanaz* 'how much' (besides *katik*).

R. has, besides the Lmp. set, **etArax** 'so much', **wotArax** 'that much', **jetArax tetArax** 'as much as', **ketArax** 'how much?'.

(c) Adjective of number

Lmp. **etrez** 'so many', **otrez** 'so many', **jetrez tetrez** 'as many as', **ketrez** 'how many?'.

S., L., U., F., Br. agree with Lmp.; B., G., Fy. and Sl. have **etAnax**, **otAnax**, **jetAnax tetAnax** and **ketAnax**. R. has, besides the Lmp. set, **etArex wotArex**, **jetArex tetArex**, **ketArex**. (All the dialects have **jAi** 'as many', **tAi** 'so many', **kAi** 'how many' which do not change for gender or case).

The above adjectives change for case and gender as shown in § 219. For instance:

Lmp. **Aisex din max gñar baiñhan** 'sit at home on such a day', **waixj kitaxb phirj narix derkhj parix** 'never was a book of that sort seen again', **etrez āxta sɛ hamazrij bñurkh narix jarix** 'my hunger will not be satisfied with so much flour', **ham otzix roxtiz kharjen** 'I ate that much bread', **tum ketzix kaxmp kifieu** 'how much work did you do?', **tumñarex ketrez larikax au ketzix laũrijax haĩ** 'how many sons and daughters have you got?', **jetrez larikax tumñarex haĩ tetrez hamarex** 'I have as many sons as you have', **jetrix laũrija hamarex haĩ tetrix kori kɛ narix** 'no one has so many daughters as I have'.

C. ORIGIN

§ 266. (a) of manner—we have two varieties of forms (1) in **-As** (*asa*) and (2) in **Ais** (*aisa*). The latter go back to **-dʒsa** forms of OIA, e.g., *yādʒsa* > *jāisa* > *jaisa* > *jaia*. The former are later and simpler formations.

(b) of quantity—there are three varieties of forms (1) in **-trax** (E. Aw. *-sta*), (2) **-tanax** and (3) **-tarax**.

In Sanskrit there were *-yat* adjectives which in the Prakrite became *-anta*. All these adjectives go back to those, the (1) forms directly while (2) and (3) by later additions of *-naz* and *-raz*.

(c) of number—the plural form of *-yat* adjectives was used in Sanskrit also for denoting number. We find the *Ardha-tatsama* forms of the same in *jāvāta*, *tāvāta* of Early Awadhi. *jai*, *kai*, etc., represent Sanskrit *yati*, *kati*, etc.

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## CHAPTER V

### POSTPOSITIONS<sup>1</sup>

#### Introductory

§ 267. The decay of old case-forms and the growth of postpositions goes side by side in a language. The history of postpositions in IA is complicated because of the fact that as these are used very often and in a variety of senses, as Bloch pointed out (Bloch: *Langue Marathe* § 197), they become semantically weak and undergo greater phonetic modification than ordinary words. There is another factor to be taken into consideration; as soon as the old auxiliary words seem to fail to indicate the required meaning, fresh words are borrowed from the literary dialects. This is

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<sup>1</sup> What is a postposition? Any morphemic word which is generally put after other words and gives a meaning with those words only, it has no independent meaning of its own without reference to those words. It is different from terminations in as much as it does not undergo changes of form by incorporation with the previous words. If we adopt this as a characteristic of a postposition, we should not regard such words as have an independent meaning still, as postpositions.

I prefer to retain the word postposition in spite of a suggestion from Dr. Grahame-Bailey (B.S.O.S., V page 515) to use 'preposition' because the words in question are most generally post- and not pre-, as also because of the fact that I believe that the word 'postposition' has come to have a settled meaning, and too frequent a change in scientific terminology and symbols is apt to injure the science. For the same reason, I retain the terms 'direct' and 'oblique' in preference to 'prepositional' or 'postpositional'.

clear from the fact that we have in modern Bengali a number of modern loan-words for this purpose (*vide* Chatterji § 509). It is also clear from such words as **khartir** and **bidfi** in Modern Awadhi. This brings about two results :

(1) It is possible that a fresh loan-word and its ordinary form may both be employed at one time in the sense exactly the same and thence-forward may undergo common phonetic changes. We find in Tulsidās *maha* (possibly from *semi-tatsama* \**madha*—cf. Av. *maḍa*) and *māḥa* (< *madhya*-) and to-day we have their successors **max** and **mafiar**.

(2) A loan-word has a certain hesitation about it in phonetic adaptation in the language and may have different developments in different dialects. For instance Lmp. **khartir** (Per. *khāṭir*) is found in North Gonda as **khartir**. The change from *-t-* to *-rt-* is explained only by the theory of hesitation.

This accounts for the variety of the forms of the same postpositions.

§ 268. Jāyāsī and Tulsī do not generally employ postpositions. The noun or pronoun in its base form or in the case form expresses the required sense of case-relationship. There has been a gradual development of the use of postpositions as is shown by the following statistics

In Jāyāsī in the first two hundred lines there are 91 such nouns as would require postpositions according to the practice in Modern Awadhi, but we find postpositions employed only after 24 nouns, *i.e.*, after about 26 p. c. of the nouns. In Tulsī who follows closely in time, there are 184 nouns (in the first three hundred lines) which would require postpositions according to modern usage, but only 45 are followed by postpositions, or about the same percentage as in Jāyāsī. But when we come to Nūr Muhammad who composed his work after about two hundred years (1157 A.H.) from Jāyāsī (947 A.H., 1540 A.D.), we find that in the first two hundred lines of his work, there are 175 such

words as would require postpositions after them according to the practice of Modern Awadhi and we find postpositions employed after 137 nouns, i.e., a little over 78 p. c. ; with this compare the percentage of Jāyasī and Tulsī (26 p. c.). Nūr Muḥammad thus comes very near Modern Awadhi (compare also § 270).

A postposition in Modern Awadhi is used generally to denote all case-relationships except the Nominative. It is found after the oblique case, if one exists, otherwise after the direct, e.g., *raṛja sē*, *raṛjan sē*, *sab mar*, *acche sē*, *khazī mē*.

§ 269. In the old texts we find postpositions employed oftener with pronouns than with nouns. For instance in Jāyasī in the first three hundred lines there are 96 pronouns which would require postpositions and these are employed after 33 pronouns. The percentage of the use of postpositions with pronouns is thus 34 as against 26 of nouns. Similarly the percentage of the first three hundred lines of Tulsī (61 : 27) is 44 after pronouns as against 24 of nouns. Not only this. Further we find that there is no case of *-āi* form of the noun (in any of the three texts) with a postposition but there are 16 (in Jāyasī), 7 (in Tulsī) and 9 (in Nūr Muḥammad) cases of *-āi* form of the pronoun with a postposition. Thus even such cases as appear distinctly significant (without postposition) as regards noun have lost their case-significance as regards pronouns.

This practice is intelligible. The pronouns on account of their more frequent use become weak semantically sooner than the nouns and thus require auxiliary words. Even in the Prakrit stage we find many alternative forms of pronouns and a greater confusion in case-endings than in the case of nouns. A frequent use of pronouns can be exemplified by usages of Modern Hindi. The pronoun comes first at the speaker's tongue. For instance : one generally asks *Arē wōḥ lez aṛjē* 'Hullo, have you brought that?', and only

when the person spoken to asks 'what?' that the article is named.

The earlier and more frequent use of postpositions after pronouns explains the incorporation of the postposition in pronouns earlier than in nouns.

Modern Awadhi has *moxr* 'mine', *toxr* 'thine', *hamaxr* 'ours', *tumaxr* 'yours', *paraxr* 'another's', where the genitive postposition (*kara*) has been inextricably incorporated in the pronoun, but there is no case of a noun incorporating it.

§ 270. As we see above, some of the postpositions have undergone so much phonetic change that they are hardly recognisable as derivatives of particular words, e.g., *me* < *madhya*, *po* < *pukṣṛ*. But if we remember the fact that they are put in a very frequent use, we can see the possibility of such a violent sound-change. With some of the postpositions, it is not possible to find the evidence of literary documents for their predecessor-forms. But it may be noted that the auxiliary words being a popular device would be recognized only later in literary works.

### Accusative-Dative<sup>1</sup>

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 271. J. and T. generally use the oblique case in *-hi*, *-hr* (or *-i*) to express this sense, but sometimes they employ postpositions. These are never found after the oblique in *-hi*, *-hr*, *-i*.

(a) J. *kaha*, e.g., *saba kaha* 'to all' (p. 6), *jaga kaha* 'to the world' (p. 17), *sunai kaha* 'for bearing' (p. 12).

(b) T. generally has *kaha* (e.g., *tinha kaha* 'to them', p. 19), *kahu* (*tinha kahu* 'to them', p. 7), *kāhu* (e.g., *saba kāhu* 'to all', p. 19), but sometimes *kat* (*tuma kat* 'to you',

<sup>1</sup> The postpositions for these two cases have the same forms in Awadhi.

p. 90), *kō* (*sabahi kō nikō* 'good to all people', p. 17) and even *ka* (*tulsi ka* 'to Tulsi', p. 17).

NOTE:—*kahā* and *kahā* sometimes appear without nasalisation. An example of direct object—*prabhu kahā ānhā* 'recognised the master.'

(c) N. generally has *kahā* (e.g. *sūraja kahā* 'to the sun', p. 3) and rarely *kō* or *kō* (*dvāra kō* 'to the door', p. 5, *nibala kō* 'to the weak', p. 8).

NOTE:—This *kō* or *kō* is, I believe, *kau* or *kaū* and has been wrongly transcribed in the Devanāgarī version of the manuscript which is in Persian characters where *س* can be read as either *ko* or *kau*.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 272. Lakhimpurī has *ko* and *kaz*. For instance:

*razmuz gopāl ko mazrisī* 'Rāmū beat Gopāl'—Accusative, *gopāl ko kuchh khazī ko deru* 'give something to Gopāl to eat'—Dative. The postposition is not employed after inanimate object.

§ 273. Of the two the long form (*kaz*) is used after

(1) monosyllables containing

(a) a final long vowel, e.g., *jiz kaz*

(b) a short vowel, followed or not by a consonant, e.g.,  
*ghār kaz*

(2) dis-syllables containing two short syllables each ending in a vowel, e.g. *kehi kaz*.

The short form (*ko*) is used after all other words, *corr ko*, *mard ko*, *āfir ko*<sup>1</sup>, *azgi ko*, *nauwa ko*.

NOTE 1. If the last vowel of a word preceding the short form of the postposition is long, it is pronounced short (e.g., *ghōrīaz sq > ghōrīaz sq*, *azgī sq > azgi sq*).

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bloch suggests that the differentiation probably happened at a time when final short vowel, -a, -i, etc., was actually spoken in *mard* (-a), *āfir* (-a), *ghār* (-a).

NOTE 2. If the word after which a long postposition is used, is lengthened by adding a suffix or otherwise, the long postposition can no longer be used (e.g., *gñar kaz* 'to the house', but *gñarāññ ko*, 'to the house only', *iz kaz* 'to this', but *izma ko*, 'of this').

These rules apply to all sets of long and short postpositions in such dialects as possess them.

§ 274. S. and Western L. have **ko** and **kaz**, U. and F. only **kaz**, B. and Bgh. have **ko**, **kaz** and **kaiññāz** and partly use **kai** in the East; G. has **ko**, **kaz** but **kaiññāz** is found in specimens of the North and **kez** in the specimens of the East—**kaz** or **kāz** is, however, the most common. Fy. and Sl. have **kaz** but Fy. specimens show **kai** also (*sab wāñi kai garijazwāi lagez* 'all began to abuse him') and S. E. Sl. **kez** (*raxt kez* 'at night'); Br. and R. have **kaz** and **kaiññāz** while P. and A. have **kaz** generally but **kez** in the Eastern parts.

NOTE:—The dative-sense 'for' is expressed by such words as *khaxtir* etc. (See below § 286).

### Genitive<sup>1</sup>

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 275. The oblique in *-hi*, etc., is seldom used to denote this case; the noun-stem generally with postpositions and sometimes without it is used.

(a) J. has *kara* (fem. *kari*), *kēra* (fem. *kērī*) elongated sometimes to *kērā* (*kēri*) and *ka* (*kā*), *kē* and *kai*.

Of these *kara* (*kari*) is the usual one and generally does change for the gender of the following noun, e.g., *hañ saba kabitanha kara pachalagā* 'I am the follower of all poets' (p. 33), *sñnai kara saba puhumi akāsū* 'the floor and the roof both (were) of gold' (p. 73), *dharama pantha kara*

<sup>1</sup> The postpositions for this case agree with the following noun, pronoun, etc., in gender and case and not with the preceding noun, etc.

*karahṣ bakhānū* 'are making the elucidation of the path of virtue' (p. 59), *tā kari dirisī* 'his glance' (p. 7). *kēra* is used sometimes, e.g., *dirisa gosāl kēra* 'the sight of the Lord' (p. 27), *sulēmā kēri agūḥi* 'the ring of Suloman' (p. 17).

*ka* (*kā*) singular direct and *kē* singular oblique or plural is also frequently used. For instance:

*nisi ku bichōhā* 'separation of (at) night' (p. 50), *sabhā ka rūpa* 'the appearance of the assembly' (p. 72), *ūca gadha tākā* 'his fort was high' (p. 61), *mādira mādira saba kē caupāṛi* 'everyone had sitting-halls in every house' (p. 67), *duhā kē bhāra* 'by the burden of both' (p. 25), *pāna phūla kē rahahṣ adhāri* 'subsist only on leaves and fruits' (p. 75).

*kai* is generally used with feminine nouns as in *Tulsidās*. For instance:

*kēlā kai ghauri* 'clusters of bananas' (p. 52), *ghari rahāṣa kai* 'wheel of the water-mill' (p. 52), *siṃghala kai kāṣā* 'market of Singhala' (p. 56), *bāsuki kai pīṭhi* 'the back of Vāsuki' (p. 61), *gāḍhō kai sāthi* 'friend in need', *pauri navan bajara kai sāji* 'all the nine thresholds are made of cement' (p. 63), *laṅka dīpa kai silā* 'the stone of Laṅkadīpa' (p. 47).

(b) T. has *kara* (fem. *kari*) *kēra* (elongated to *kērā* particularly at the end of lines), fem. *kēri* (*kēri*), obl. singular and plural dir. and obl. *kērē*; *ka* (elongated to *kā* at times) as masculine dir. and *kē* (*kē*) masculine sing. obl. and plural dir. and obl., *kī* (*kī*) fem., rarely *kū* (masculine singular) and *kai* generally feminine. The distinction of gender is generally maintained but sometimes in the *kara* set masculine postposition is used before feminine nouns. For instance:

*santanha kara sātha* 'the company of the good' (p. 22), *jā kari tat dāsi* 'whose slave thou art' (p. 81), but also *jama kara dhāri* 'the stream of Yama' (p. 45), *saba kara bidā* 'the departure of all' (p. 49), *tehi kara punya* 'the merit of his' (p. 45).

In the *kēra* set the distinction of gender is maintained throughout. For instance :

*mitra tāpasa nṛpa kērā* 'friend of the hermit-king' (p. 75), *bhṛṅgupati kēri garaba-garuāi* 'the height of the pride of the lord of Bhṛṅgūs' (p. 111), *carana kamala bandatā tinha kērē* 'their lotus-feet I bow down to' (p. 10).

In the set *ka, kī, kē*, the gender is distinguished. For instance :

*jō jehi khāni ka* 'whosoever was of whichever source' (p. 3), *ati hita saba hī kā* 'very beneficial to all' (p. 97), *kuthā raghubara kī* 'the story of Raghubara' (p. 7), *ugharukt bimala bitōcana hī kē* 'the clear eyes of the heart open up' (p. 3), *mana jā kē* 'in whose mind' (p. 59), *rāma kō nāma* 'the name of Rāma' (p. 15).

*kai* is generally followed by a feminine noun but sometimes by masculine also, e.g., *dasā sambhu kai* 'Śambhu's condition' (p. 27), *bhagavanta kai bhagatī* 'the devotion to (of) the Lord' (p. 25), *nārada kai upadēsa* 'the advice of Nārada' (p. 43), *dui kai cāri māgi maku lēhū* 'you may beg for four (boons) instead of two' (p. 168), *rāma janama kai hētu anēkā* 'various causes of the birth of Rāma' (p. 56). With the last may be compared *rāma janama kara hētu* 'the cause of Rāma's birth' (p. 68), where the same word is preceded by a masculine postposition. In *praśna umā kai* 'Uma's question' (p. 52), the feminine *kai* is all right as *praśna* (masculine in Sanskrit) is treated of as feminine by Tulsīdās throughout his work<sup>1</sup>.

(c) N. has *kō* masculine sg. (sometimes *ka* and *kā* also), *kē* masculine singular and plural dir. and obl., *kī* (*ki*), *kai* feminine, *kara* masculine sg. dir., *kērā* masculine singular dir., *kēri* feminine, and *kērē* masculine sg. obl. and plural

<sup>1</sup> T. has once *kṛta* used as a postposition, viz., *jinha kṛta mahā mōha mada pānā* 'those who are under the influence of intoxication' (p. 54).



dir. and obl. The distinction of genders is maintained generally. For instance :

*jaga kō rājā* 'the king of the world' (p. 1), *phularārī kā dvārā* 'the door of the flower-garden' (p. 6), *jehi ka bakhāna* 'whose description' (p. 2), *sapanē kī bāta* 'the talk of the dream' (p. 11), *pahilī rāta kī mūrata* 'the image of the first night' (p. 10), *indrāvati kai gū* 'the neck of Indrāvati' (p. 5), *tina kara nānī* 'his name' (p. 3), *sāgara bhau kērā* 'the ocean of Bhava' (p. 2), *hāṭa mahipati kērī* 'the market of the king' (p. 9), *juga kērō cērō* 'the disciple of the world' (p. 2).

Sometimes, however, the distinction of gender is missed :

*adharama kō jara mūla* 'the root of absence of duty' (p. 9), *tapī kara bāha* 'the arm of the hermit' (p. 4), *tākō mūrata* 'her image' (p. 13), *tā kī mātā* 'on her forehead' (p. 18).

NOTE.—*kō* should be read as *kau* [see note to § 271 (c)].

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ : 76. Lakhimpur has **ko**, **kaz**; **kar**, **kezr**—maso. dir. sg., **kē**, **kez**, **kerez** maso. obl. sg. and pl. dir. and obl., **kī**, **kiz**, **keziriz** fm. dir. and obl. For instance :

**gopāl ko** (or **kezr**) **larikaz mari gaz** 'Gopāl's son has died', **gopāl kē** (or **kerez**) **larika ko mazrinj** 'they beat Gopāl's son', **gopāl kē caxriu larikaz jiatj haī** 'Gopāl's all the four sons are living', **gopāl kī laūrijaz** 'Gopāl's daughter'.

S. and L. agree with Lmp.; U. and F. have no short forms **ko** and **kī** and **kē**. B. is like Lmp., but has **ka** in Eastern specimens; G. does not use **kezr** but **kar** is found in specimens; it uses **ka** very generally. Fy. possesses **kaz**, **kiz** but generally uses **kar** forms (o **kariz phirak**, **ke karoz saxthex**, **baxsaxzi kezri biṭijaz**). It also uses **ka** mostly before feminine nouns. Sl. uses **kar** and **ka** generally

irrespective of the gender (**un kar meṣṭaruaz, okarex hiāz, un kaj khopariz, un kaj likhaz, un kaj din**). Br. like Lmp. distinguishes gender and has the same postpositions. Similarly R. (**kjazz** for **kezz**, however) P. and A. generally use **kar, kez** and **kaj**. Bgh. has **kezz**, masc. dir. **ke**, masc. obl. **kez**, fem. dir. **kiz**, obl. **kai**.

### Accusative-Dative-Genitive

#### O. ORIGIN

§ 277. The postpositions for these three cases are put together for derivation. We have:

Modern Awadhi **ko, kaz (kāz), kaiṣṭāz, kai** and **kar, kezz**.

Early Awadhi **kaha, kahā, kāhū, kaṭ, kō (kō)** and **kara, kāra, kā, kē, kai, kṛta**.

These go back (1) to some forms of **kṛ** and (2) to **kakṣa**.

(a) For **ko, kaz** and obl. **kez**, the best suggestion is to derive them from **kṛta**, (**kṛtaka**) which is once found in Tulsīdās in this senso [see footnote § 275 (b)]. **kez** dir. in the Eastern dialects of Modern Awadhi is the **Māgadhi** (Nom. eg.) form of the same word. **kiz** and **kai** are the feminine forms.

But **-ṛ-** normally becomes **-i-** and here we have it as **-a-**. Is it because of a peculiar treatment in a loan-word?

(b) **kar** (fm. **kari**) is derived from **kāraka** and **kezz** (**kezzri, kezzriz**) from **kārya, kāryaka**. The later derivation requires an epenthesis which occurs already in Apabhraṃśa: **kārya** > **kāyara** > **kaira**. We have such a development in a number of words, however, and we should remember, that this was a loan-word.

(c) Modern Awadhi **kaiṣṭāz** and Early Awadhi **kaha, kahā, kāhū, kaṭ, kō** go back to **kakṣa**. In **kaiṣṭāz**, we see the transference of aspiration to the last syllable. We should suppose **kaiṣṭāz** < **kakṣyaka** (cf. **paṣṭiāz** and **maṣṭiāz**) or we may derive it as Aw. **kaha** + **iyā**.

A possible derivation of these *-h-* forms of the post-position was from *kt* (*ktla* etc.) by attributing inter-vocalic *-h-* to the device of avoiding hiatus (Bloch, pp. 31 and 182). But the long *ā* in *kāhū* and *-kh-* in Old Bengali *kakhu* (Chatterji, p. 760) are insuperable difficulties.<sup>1</sup>

### Instrumental-Ablative<sup>2</sup>

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 278. The oblique in *-hi*, *-kt*, *-i* is not generally used to denote this sense; the noun-stem with or without post-positions is used.

(a) J. has *sō*, *saū*, *bhai*, *ē*, *taṭ*, *sēti*, *huta* (*huti*) and *cāhi*. Of these *saū* is most common, e.g., *arathā sō* 'with meaning' (p. 127), *cāri basērē saū carhai sala saū carhai jo pāra* 'he who is allowed to truthfully take four days to get up to it' (p. 63), *saba saū* 'from all' (p. 10), *bhai (āchahṭ sadā sugandha bhai* 'are always with good smell', p. 53). *taṭ* is generally used in comparison, *ēka ēka taṭ rūpa bakhāni* 'one famous for beauty more than another' (p. 75), *chārahṭ taṭ* 'from ashes' (p. 5), *pēma ē* 'with love' (p. 348), *rājā sēti* 'talked with the king' (p. 310), *naraka siṭ* 'from hell' (p. 337). *cāhi* also shows comparison, e.g. *eka eka cāhi ēka eka baī* 'one even stronger than another' (p. 69), *laṅkā cāhi ūca gaḍha* 'the fort higher than Laṅkā even' (p. 61). *huta* denotes either 'from' (*uṣhē puhumi huti* 'rose from the Earth', p. 40), or 'through', e.g., *ohi huta dēkhai pāetū darasa gosāt kēra* 'through him I was able to have the sight of the Lord' (p. 27).

(b) T. has *sana* (sometimes *sanu* and *sō*), *ē* (sometimes as *ē*, *taṭ*), *sē* and *sī*.

Of these *sana* is the most common and indicates both the instrumental and ablative meaning. For instance: *sō mō sana kahi jāta na* 'that cannot be said by me' (p. 4), *sai*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Sindhi *-kha*

<sup>2</sup> The postpositions for these two cases do not differ in form.

*sana prīti* 'love with Satī' (p. 29), *sirā sana bhākhā* 'spoke to Śivā' (p. 20), *gura sana kiē durāva* 'by keeping the secret from the teacher' (p. 25), *muni sana bidā māgi* 'having obtained permission (to depart) from the sage' (p. 26).

*tē* generally indicates the sense of 'from' and 'than', e.g., *tehi tē kachu guna dōra bakhūnō* 'because of that I have described a few merits and demerits' (p. 5), *ēka tē ēkā* 'some more than the others' (p. 28).

*sē* (masc.) and *sī* (fem.) indicate likeness only, e.g., *rāhu sē* 'like Rāhu' (p. 4), *ramā sī* 'like Ramā' (p. 18). Sometimes *sō* is used in this sense, e.g., *sītānātha sō* 'like the husband of Sītā' (p. 17).

(c) N. has *sō* (sometimes *saū* or *sū*), *tē* (sometimes *tē*), *hūtē* (sometimes *hūlē*), *sētē* and *sē*.

Of these *sō* is the most common and expresses both the instrumental and ablative senses, e.g., *dāyā sō* 'with compassion' (p. 2), *jīya sō* 'with heart' (p. 3), *nibarana sabarai saū dukha pāvā* 'the weak obtained misery from (at the hands of) the strong' (p. 2).

*tē* is less common. For instance: *jibha tē* 'with the tongue' (p. 3), *cahū disa tē* 'from all the four directions' (p. 3).

*hūtē* means 'by reason of', 'through', e.g., *bhā tehi bacana hūtē samsārā* 'the Universe came to be through that Word', *bacana hūtē yaha jagata mō kirati paragaṣa āhi* 'by reason of the Word, the fame is flashing in this world' (p. 5), *prēma hūtē dōū kahā dīnhā alakha milāya* 'the Invisible united the two because of their love' (p. 3).

*sētē* is comparatively rare. For instance: *dāyā sētē* 'with compassion' (p. 4), *haū hinā vidyā budhi sētē* 'I am bereft of knowledge and wisdom' (p. 4).

*sē* is unusual, e.g., *paragaṣa hōi tahāsē sōi* 'he comes out from there' (p. 10).

NOTE:—*sō* or *sū* should be read as *saū* or *saū* [see note to § 271 (a)].

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 279. Lakhimpurī has *sq* and *sex*, e.g., *ux ham kar dāṇḍa sq mazriṣī* 'he beat me with a stick', *bārdar sq būrdīr girīṣ* 'drops (of rain) fell from the cloud'; sometimes *senez*, e.g., *kaxfiex senez* 'with what?'. S. and L. have *tq*, *tex* besides *sq*, *sex* and also *senez*, *tenez*. U. and F. have *sex* and *tex* (sometimes *bez* and *bhez*). B. has *sq*, *sex* and *setix*, also *ternex*. G. has *sex* and *sertix* in specimens of the North. Fy. and Sl. have only *sex*, Br. has *sex* and *tex* and sometimes uses *kāiṣṭāx* also in an instrumental sense (*wāṣi kāiṣṭāx Anaxj lai arjex* 'with that (money) brought the corn'). R. has *tex*, *ternis*, P. *sex*, *sernix* and *sernez*, A. generally *sex*, Bgh. *sex*, *tex*.

P. expresses the sense of 'than' by *lagez* (see below § 286) also, e.g., *tau hījāx lagez majex max raṣṣab* 'then I shall be better off (there) than here'.

NOTE :—The idea of 'with' indicating company is expressed by some such word as *sangh*, *saxther* (see below § 280).

## C. ORIGIN

§ 280. Mod. Aw. *sq*, *sex*, *tq*, *tex*, *senez* *ternex*, *setix*, *santix*, *senix*, *bez*, *bhez*.

E. Aw. *sō*, *saṭ*, *sana*, *sanu*, *sā* (*si*), *sēṭ*, *tē* (*tē*, *taṭ*), *bhai*, *hāto*, *hūtē* (*hūtā*) and *cāhi*. *kari*.

Of these Mod. Aw. *sq*, *sex*, *sernix* probably go back to *sahitāna* and *sertix*, E. Aw. *sēṭ* to *santakēna* (cf. Pāli *santakō*, e.g., *parasantakō* 'belonging to another') *anta* > *ē*, possibly influenced by *sō*; while E. Aw. *sō*, *saṭ*, *sana*, *sanu* to *samaḥ* and *saṁēna*; *bez* *bhez*, *bhai* are derivable from the absolutive of *bhū*. E. Aw. *sā*, *sī* in the sense of 'like' has a modern correspondent in Hindustani usage *muṣṣī sax* 'like me' (*muṣṣī sīx* feminine) etc. and should go back to *sama* 'equal'. Mod. Aw. *tq*, *tex*, *ternex* and E. Aw. *tē* (*tē*, *taṭ*) are probably connected with *tan*—*taṭāna*.

*hūta*, *huta* (*huta*) have correspondents in *hunta*, *hunta* in the Apabhramśa and are connected with  $\sqrt{bhū}$ —\**honta* Mg. *hontā*, or \**hontāna*.

*cāhi* is connected with  $\sqrt{cāh}$ —‘to desire’, ‘to wish’ and is the absolutive form of the root. Similarly *kari* is the absolutive of  $\sqrt{kar}$ —‘to do’.

### Locative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 281. In Jāyasi and Tulsi the oblique -*ē* and -*hi* etc. is quite frequently used to express the locative sense. Otherwise the noun-stem with or without the postpositions is used.

(a) J. has *maha* and *māhā* generally (sometimes *mājha*, *māha* and *mājhiārā*) for ‘in’ and *para*, *ūpara*, *pāhā* and *poi* generally and *uparāhi* sometimes for ‘on, over’. For instance :

*biju tehi māhā* ‘the lightning in that’ (p. 2), *nakhotaṇha māhā* ‘in the stars’, *suba māhā* ‘in all’ (p. 75), *tinka maha* ‘in them’ (p. 75); *ghara mājhiārā* ‘in the house’ (p. 232), *jaṇā mājhu* ‘in the Jammuā’ (p. 164); *khaḍa khaḍa ūpara* ‘above every part’ (p. 74), *gaṛha ūpara tāi* ‘upto the above (of) the fort’ (p. 63), *śisa uparāhi* ‘over the head’ (p. 70).

(b) T. has *maha* (*maha*), *mahā* (*mahu*), *māhi* (*mahi*) generally and *mājha* (*mājhā*), *mājhāri* and *madhya* sometimes for ‘in’ and *para* for ‘on’, and *tara* ‘below.’ For instance :

*chanu maha* ‘in a moment’ (p. 47), *raghubamsinha maha* ‘amongst the descendants of Raghu’ (p. 108), *bhōga mahā* ‘in enjoyment’ (p. 12), *trētā jūga māhi* ‘in the Trētā age’ (p. 26), *jaga mājhā* ‘in the world’ (p. 221), *tinka taru-baranha madhya* ‘in (amongst) those good trees’ (p. 249), *muni-maṇḍal madhya* ‘in company of sages’ (p. 250); *dina para* ‘on the pūr’ (p. 3), *aṣanha para* ‘on the upper floors’ (p. 149), *sindhu mājhāri* ‘in the whole ocean’ (p. 78), *milehi mājha* ‘in the middle of the process of

obtaining' (p. 175); *sura-taru tara* 'under the tree of the gods' (p. 5).

(c) N. has *mahā* (*māha*, *māhā*, *māhī*, *māhū*) usually and *mō* quite frequently and *majhāra*, *mē*, and *ma* rarely for 'in', *para* usually, *ūpara* frequently and *uparāhā* (*upurāhī*) sometimes for 'on, above' and *tara*, *tarē* for 'under'. For instance :

*giu mahā* 'in the neck' (p. 5), *bāri māha* 'in the garden' (p. 5), *dou hāthana māhā* 'in both the hands' (p. 5), *lehi māhī* 'in that' (p. 8), *hāfa mō* 'in the market' (p. 9), *bhāsā mō* 'in vernacular' (p. 4), *phāda majhārā* 'in the snare', *sabhā majhāra* 'in the assembly' (p. 115), *ādarasa majhāra* (p. 10), *sindhu mē* 'in the ocean' (p. 4), *artha ma* 'in meaning' (p. 102); *rāja para* 'over the kingdom' (p. 7), *para triyā para* 'on another's woman' (p. 9), *mohi ūpara* 'over me' (p. 2), *pāsa uparāhā* 'on the kingship' (p. 7), *mukha uparāhī* 'on the face' (p. 3), *biricha tara* 'under the tree' (p. 3), *pāva tara* 'under the foot' (p. 8), *biricha tarē* 'under the tree' (p. 106).

NOTE.—*mō* should be read as *maū* [see note to § 271 (c)] In one instance *vīṣa māu* 'in poison' (p. 73), we find the correct form.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 282. Lakhimpurī has *mo*, *mar* and *maīñāz* 'in' and *po*, *par*, *pariñāz* 'on'. For instance : *khert mo gazi carti hai* 'the cow is grazing in the field'; *birowar par* 'on the tree', *kairīez maīñāz* 'in what', *duazre po* 'on the door'.

NOTE.—The long forms *maīñāz*, *par* and *pariñāz* can be used after such words also as have the short postposition after them.

S. and L. agree with Lmp.; U. and F. have *mar*, *maīñāz* and *par*, *pariñāz*, B. has all Lmp. forms except *po*. G. town does not possess *maīñāz* but specimens of the North and South-Eastern portions of the district show it; it

has **paī** also for 'on' (**dukāin paī**, **darwāzje po**). **Fy.** has **mar**, **māz**, **maīṣiā** and **po**, **Sl.** **mar**, and **māz** and **paī**, **Br.** **mar**, **māz**, **maīṣijāz** and **paī**, **B.** **mar**, **maīṣijāz** and **po**. **P.** and **A.** generally have **māz**, **po**; **Bgh.** has **mar**.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 283. Modern Awadhi **mo mar** (**māz**), **maīṣiāz** (**maīṣijāz**), **po**, **paī** (**paī**) and **par**, **pariṣiāz**.

Early Awadhi **maha** (**mahā**), **māhā**, **māhī**, **mahā**, **mājha**, **madhya**, **mā** etc.; **para**, **ūpara** **pāhā**, **paī**, **uparāhī**, **uparāhā**, **uparālu**; **tara**, **tarā**.

Of these all **m-** forms go back to **madhya**, (**-ku** or **-ra** in some cases); the forms with **-r**, **-r-** to **upari**, **uparitra** and **upariṣṭha**, **paī** (**paī**) to **prati**; **pāhā** and **po** as well as **pahi**, **pahā** etc. of Early Awadhi in **Tulsīdās** to some forms of **pakṣa**, or **pāṣva**. **tara** and **tarā** go back to **tala**, **talā** (**talakā**).

## Other Postpositions

§ 284. These are used after the genitive forms of the personal pronouns, after the genitive postpositions in case of such nouns as can take the short postposition, and after the noun or pronoun directly in other cases.

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 285. Besides the case-postpositions mentioned above, the texts have the following which are more or less used as postpositions.

(a) **Jāyasī saṅga** (**sāga**) in the sense of with (*e.g.*, **jehi sāga** 'with whom', p. 25) **saū** in the sense of 'before, in front of' (*e.g.*, **jā saū** 'in front of whom', p. 49), **tāt** 'for' (*e.g.*, **jaga kai tāt** 'for the world', p. 25), **lāgi** (**lagi**) meaning 'upto' (*e.g.*, **lāgi akāsā** 'upto the sky', p. 40, **jub lagi tab lagi** 'until . . . then'), and **lei** or **lahi** in the same sense (**jau lahi** 'until', p. 58, **saraga lei lāvā** 'sown upto heavens', p. 73),



and *sari* 'like' (e.g., *sērasāhi sari* 'like Sher Shāh' p. 23), *nāt* 'like' (e.g., *bijū kai nāt* 'like lightning' p. 49), *bhāri* 'whole' (e.g., *janama bhāri* 'throughout life' p. 15).

(b) *Tulsīlāl* has a large number. Frequently he uses *paht* (*paḥa*) and *pāht* and sometimes *pāsa* to indicate 'nearness', the sense of *tīr* of *Lakṣmipuri*. For instance:

*kumbhajaṅgi paht* 'to (near) the sage horn of the jar (Agastya)' (p. 26), *jaṣa bara mat baraneṭi tuma pāht* 'the bride-groom such as I have described to you' (p. 34), *maḥēsa paht calī* 'went towards Śiva' (p. 28), *saṁbhū paḥa* 'near Śambhu' (p. 41), *bibhīṣana pāsa* 'near Bibhīṣana' (p. 77).

He uses *lāgi* (*lagi*), *liya* and *badi* in the sense of 'for', exactly in the sense in which *Lakṣmipuri* has *khartir*. For instance: *baraht lāgi* 'for the bride-groom' (p. 46), *bhagatana hita lāgi* 'for the good of the devotees' (p. 10), *kuchū kahana liya* 'for saying something' (p. 217), *rāura badi* 'for your sake' (p. 279). *lagi* (sometimes *lagē*) and *lai* are used to indicate the idea of 'upto' or 'even', e.g., *barī bāra lagi* 'upto a great deal of time' (p. 60), *kaha lagi* 'upto where' (p. 16), *pāyā lai paraht* 'even do they fall at the feet' (p. 163).

*saṅga* (*sāga*) indicates 'with', 'in company of' (e.g., *daccha kunārī saṅga* 'with the daughters of Dakṣa', *rāma kubhātī saciva sāga jāht* 'Rāma was going in an untoward way with the minister', p. 172) and *bhāri* 'throughout' (e.g., *bhāri māgha nahāht* 'bathe throughout Māgha', p. 25), while *bīca* (*bica*) means 'in the middle of' (e.g., *bithinka bica* 'in the middle of the rows', p. 85).

(c) *N.* has *pāsa* 'near' (e.g., *tina pāsa* 'near them' p. 9), *saṅga* (*sāga*) and *sātha* 'with' (*mohi saṅga* 'with me', p. 5, *rānī sātha* 'with the queen', p. 7), *lāga* 'for' (e.g., *jōga lāga* 'for the *yōga*', p. 16), and *laga* and *tāt* for 'upto' (e.g., *jan laga* 'until that', *jaba laga*, p. 21, *aba tāt* 'uptill now', p. 20), *bica* 'in the middle' (e.g., *sapana bica* in the middle of the dream' p. 10), *nita* 'for' (e.g., *tumhai nita* 'for you' p. 72).

All the texts use *nāl* (*nyāy*) in the sense of 'like', 'as', e.g., *T. raurihi nāl* 'like yourself' (p. 158).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 286. (1) To express the sense of 'for' Lakhimpuri has *khaxtir*, e.g., *hamoriz khaxtir duxdāṣṣṣ lajazor* 'bring milk for me', *waṣi kiz khaxtir* 'for him', *razm khaxtir* 'for Rām'. When the idea of 'officiating' is to be denoted the word *badj* is employed, e.g., *hamoriz badj* 'for me—officiating me'. S. and L. agree with Lmp., U. and F. use *barez* and *mudrez* for *khaxtir*. B. agrees with Lmp., G. uses *waṣiatrez* and *khaxtir* both, and reserves *badj* for officiating. In the North, G. has *khaxtir* for *khaxtir*. Fy. and Sl. have *khaxtir*. Br. has *taṭiz*, *khaxtir* and *badex* with no nuances in meaning; R., P. and A. have *taṭiz*, *barez*, *santir* and *khaxtir*.

(2) To express the sense of 'with' i.e., 'in company of', the dialects generally use *saṅgṣi* and *saxth* (or *saxthex* in Eastern dialects, e.g., Sl. *toṣṣorez saxthex* 'with you'). For instance:

Lmp. *hamorez saṅgṣi, ui kez saṅgṣi, razm saṅgṣi*.

(3) To express the sense of 'near', the dialects use *tiz* or *lagez*. For instance, Lmp. *hamorez tiz* 'with me', 'near me'; *dukazn lagez* 'near the shop'. The postposition *lagez* (sometimes *lag*) expresses the sense of 'upto' also, e.g., *birowaz lagez paṣṣūcau tau* 'first reach upto the tree'.

(a) *lai* also expresses the sense of 'upto' but is particularly used after adverbs, e.g., *kaṣṣāz lai* 'upto where?'

(4) To express the sense of 'owing to', 'on account of' *mazrez* is used in all the dialects, e.g., Lmp. *kazmez mazrez* 'owing to work', *ui kez mazrez* 'because of him'. *tumṣorez mazrez* 'on account of you'.

(5) To express the sense of 'through' *ḍagar* 'way' is used, e.g., *moṣṣorez ḍagar nikari azor* 'come

along through the gate'. **kauniz qagar** 'through which way'.

(6) To express the sense of 'like' Lakhimpuri uses **tanax**, central dialects generally have **tanax** or **tarax** and the Eastern ones use 'bidhi', e.g., Lmp. **hamariz tanax** 'like me', **larikawax tanax** 'like a boy'.

(7) To indicate the idea of 'entirety', the postposition **bharax** is placed after the noun and then the necessary case-postposition, for instance: **gāxu bharax ko** 'to the whole village'. After a noun in direct case **bharj** is placed irrespective of gender, e.g., **gāxu bharj arwax** 'the whole village came'; **lañcijax bharj ariz**, **adomiz rabi gax** 'all the girls have come away, (only) the men have stayed back'.

(8) To express the sense of 'in front' or 'before' the dialects have **samarax** and **argax**, e.g., **hamarax samarax** 'in front of me', **hamarax argax** 'before me'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 287. Of the other postpositional words :

Mod. Aw. **khartir**, **khartir** come from Ar. **khātīr** and **wāḥīratir** from **vāstā**.

**badi** <  $\sqrt{\text{vand-}}$  'praise, honour'? (**rāura badi** 'in honour of your worship, for you').

**santir** < Pkt. **sanṭā** 'being'. **nila** < **nimitta** 'cause'.

**barax** < some derivative of  $\sqrt{\text{br-}}$ , **taiz** < **sthānē**?

**sangh** < **saṅgha** 'a collection'. E. Aw. **saṅga** (**saṅga**) is Skt. **saṅga** and if the Mod. Aw. **sangh** were connected with that, the aspiration would be inexplicable.

**tir** < Skt. **śra** 'bank'.

**lagax** and E. Aw. **lāgi**, **lagi**, are derivatives of **lagnu** (**lagnakā** and **lagia**).

**lai**, E. Aw. **lai** and **lohi** go back to the absolutive of  $\sqrt{\text{lāh-}}$ ; **mazrex** may be connected with **māritēna**. **qagar**

means 'way' in Mod. Aw. = Skt. *mārga* and is possibly a Drśī word. We may compare the use of Marāṭhī *mārg*.

*sarisa* < *sadr̥sa* 'like'.

*taraz* is Arabic *ṣarāḥ*; is *tanaz* a corrupt form of it? In this connection the substitution of *r* by *n* in child's language may be noted (*vide* Part I § 161).

*bidfi* < Skt. *vidhi* 'way, means'.

*bharez* and *bfiarj*, E. Aw. *bhari* are derivatives of root  $\sqrt{bhṛ}$ .

*sahū* and *saū* of E. Aw. are connected with Skt. *sañmukha*. We have another derivative of the same word in Mod. Aw. *samañez* 'in front'; *azgez* < *agra-kē*. *pāsa* comes from Skt. *pārśva* and *nāf*, *nyānt* from *nyāyena*.

## CHAPTER VI

### VERBS

#### Root<sup>1</sup>

§ 288. (a) The roots are either active or passive in sense, e.g., **lakaṛiz kaṭatj hai** 'the wood gets cut' (passive), **ux lakaṛiz karṭatj hai** 'he cuts the wood' (active). The passive roots are all intransitive, the active roots are either transitive or intransitive. Roots have a simple (e.g., **karṭab** 'to cut') and a causal form (e.g., **kaṭarwab** 'to cause to be cut'). All denominative roots are intransitive, e.g., **lonarḅ** 'to taste saltish', **laḡarḅ** 'to feel ashamed.'

(b) The root of a verb may be obtained by separating **-ḅ** (e.g., **horḅ** 'to be'); **-ab** (e.g., **karab** 'to do') or **-wab** (e.g., **baḡarwab** 'to beat a musical instrument') as the case may be from the direct case of the verbal noun (see below § 335).

§ 289. Most of the roots used in Awadhi are already found in OIA and Mid. IA. There are a few roots borrowed from Persian-Arabic, e.g., **nawarḡab** 'to be merciful' Pers. *nawāz*, **darḡab** 'to scorch' Pers. *dāq*, **guḍarab** 'to pass' Pers. *guḍar*, **balḍab** 'to change' A. *badal*. In some cases the ancient participle has been taken and used as a root, e.g., **hataḅ** 'to kill' in the Rāmāyan, based on *hataḅ* 'killed', **ḅhāḡab** 'to run away' on *ḅhagnah* 'broken'. What appear as passive roots to-day are based on the ancient passive forms, e.g., **chijai** 'to waste away' < *chidyatē* : *chijjai*, **bājai** 'strikes' : *vādyatē* > *bajjai*. If a root is both

<sup>1</sup> Early Awadhi does not differ from Modern Awadhi in the treatment of roots.

passive and active, e.g., *bharab* 'to be filled' or 'to fill', it is derivable from two different forms (Pkt. *bharīai* and *bharai* respectively). The derivation from two different sources explains the alternation of consonants also, e.g., *ṣūṭab* 'to break' (passive) and *tṛab* 'to break' (active) are derivable from *truṣyate* and *trṣṭayati*, *-ṣy-* > *-t-* > *t-*, while *-ṣ-* intervocalic becomes *r* in Awadhi.

## Auxiliary Verb

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 290. The auxiliary verb is seldom employed; the participle by itself expresses the complete sense of the verb generally. The following are the forms, sometimes used as the auxiliary but generally as the substantive verb.

#### Present tense

Jāyasī, Tulsi and Nūr Muhammad all have *ah-*, *h-* forms, e.g., Jāyasī: *haṭ* (p. 528), *ahaṭ* (p. 517), *ahau* (p. 435), *hai* (p. 10), *ahai* (p. 33), *ahahi* (p. 147), *āhi* (p. 348), *haht* (p. 151); Tulsi: *ahaṭ* (p. 379), *hahu* (p. 296), *haht* (p. 144), *ahaht* (p. 456); Nūr Muhammad: *haṭ* (p. 25), *hasi* (p. 55), *ahasi* (p. 43), *hahu* (p. 32), *hai* (p. 1), *ahai* (p. 2.), *āhi* (p. 5), *āhai* (p. 45).

Jāyasī does not generally use *tatsama* forms, but still at one place he uses *nāsti* (p. 8).

We find three instances of *āch-* verb in Jāyasī: *āchahṭ* (p. 181, p. 585) and *ācha* (p. 245), and *achata* 'remaining' in Tulsi (e.g., p. 158).

#### Past tense

All the three texts have *bha-* forms, Jāyasī in addition has *ah-* and *h-* forms and Tulsi *h-*, *rah-* forms, e.g., Jāyasī: *ahā* (p. 225), *haṭ* (p. 150), *haṭā* (p. 113), *hata* (p. 120), *huta* (p. 171), *ahē* (p. 342), *ahī* (p. 35), *bhā* (p. 16), *bhaeu* (p. 78), *bhai* (p. 78), *bhaē* (p. 70); Tulsi: *bhat* (p. 85), *bhayeu* (p. 324), *hī* (p. 379), *rahi*, *rahē* (p. 146); N. Muhammad: *bhaṭ*

(p. 63), *bhā* (p. 6), *bhāi* (p. 9), *bhaeu* (p. 8), *bhaila* (p. 67), *bhaē* (p. 11), *bhaena* (p. 59), *bhaī* (p. 19), *bhaīna* (p. 59).

NOTE.—Jāyasī uses *bhāi* once.

#### Future tense

All the texts have *hā-* forms, e.g., Jāyasī : *hāeū* (p. 21), *hoihai* (p. 249), *hōihī* (p. 312), *hōhai* (p. 416), *hōhīhī* (p. 245); Tulsī : *hōihī* (p. 28); N. Muhammad : *hōihī* (p. 26), *hōba* (p. 55), *hōbai* (p. 58).

For the Imperative and Conjunctive *hā-* forms are used, e.g., *hōai* (J. p. 573), *hōi* (J. p. 348), *hōhu*. (N. p. 32).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 291. The following are the forms of the auxiliary verb.

##### (a) Present Indicative

###### Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
1st person	<b>hāū</b>	<b>hān</b>
2nd person	<b>hāi</b>	<b>hāu</b>
3rd person	<b>hāi</b>	<b>hāī</b>

The dialects of Sitapur, Lucknow, Unao, Fatehpur, Bahraich, Barabanki, Gonda and Western Sultanpur all have *h-* forms. S., L., U. and F. agree entirely with Lmp.; B. and G. substitute *hoiz* for the 1st per. pl. and *has* for 2nd pers. sg.; Br. has 1st pers. *hāw*, *hān*, 2nd pers. *hāwai*, *hāwao* and 3rd pers. *hāwai*, *hāwāī*. R. has the forms of Lmp. except 2nd pers. sg. *hasj*, 3rd pers. sg. *aj*, 3rd pl. *ahīz* or *ahīzī*. Fy. and St. have *ah-* forms viz., 1st pl. *ahiz*, *ahān*, 2nd sg. or pl. *ahāu*, *ahāz*, 3rd sg. *ahāi* or *aj* and 3rd pl. generally *ahāī*, (*ahīz*, *ahin*). Bgh. has *h-* and *ah-* forms : 1st *ahēū*, *hāī*; 2nd *hāi*, and *hāu*, *ahāu*, 3rd *aj* *ai* and *hāī*, *ahīz*. In P. we find *bart-* forms : 1st pl. *bartēn*, 2nd sg. or pl. *bartāi*, *baz*, 3rd sg. *bartāi*, 3rd pl. *bartāī* but *ah-* also (e.g., *tāī ahāsi* 'thou art', *ahāi*

3rd sg.). In A. both **afi-** and **bart-** forms are found and in Mirzapur mostly the latter.

(b) Past Indicative

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
1st pers.	<b>rafiāū</b>	<b>rafiān</b>
2nd pers.	<b>rafiāi</b>	<b>rafiāu</b>
3rd pers.	<b>rafiāi</b>	<b>rafiāĩ</b>

All the dialects have **rafi-** forms for this tense. Only in the Western portion of Unao and Fatehpur which border on Kanaujī and in Bgh., we find **hat-** forms (masc. pl. all persons **hatez**, **hatiz** fm., sg., **hataz** masc., **hatiz** fm.; the **ha-** of these forms is elided after participles). In Partabgarh the present tense **bartēn** (1st pl.) is used as an alternative with **rafiēz**. There are dialectal differences in **rafi-** forms. S., L., U., F., Br. and R. agree with Lmp., only R. has **rafiāj** for 2nd sg. B. and G. have 1st pl. **rafiin**, 2nd sg. **rafiis**; G. Fy. and Sl. have 3rd sg. **rafiāz** (masc.) and **rafiiz** fm. while Sl. and A. as well as Mirzapur have 3rd pl. as **rafiēn** or **rafiin**. Sl. 1st pl. is **rafiāwāz** and 2nd sg. or pl. **rafiāz**. In Bgh. the **rafi-** forms are also used: **rafiēū** **rafiēn**, **rafiāz** **rafiēu**, **rafiāz** **rafiēn**.

(c) Future Indicative

Lakhimpurī

	sg.	pl.
1st pers.	<b>hoifiāū</b>	<b>hoibāz</b> , <b>hoizib</b>
2nd pers.	<b>hoiziz</b> , <b>hoifiāi</b>	<b>hoifiāu</b>
3rd pers.	<b>hoiziz</b>	<b>hoifiāĩ</b>

All the dialects have **hoz-** forms, only in West U. we have **hoifiāĩ**. But there is a difference with regard to the forms containing **-fi-** or **-b-**. In Lmp. and in S., L., U., F. and Bgh. we have **-b-** only in 1st pl., In B., Br., R. and G. also **-b-** form is found only in the 1st pers. pl.: B. **hoibāi**, **hoizb**, Br. **hoizbāi**, R. **hoizb**, G. **hoizb**. In Fy., Sl., P., A. and Mirzapur **-b-** forms replace **-fi-** forms in the 2nd person also: Fy.



1st **horbai**, 2nd **horbjaz**, P., A., M. 1st and 2nd **horb**, **horbox**. In 3rd pers. sg. R., Sl. and P. have **hore**. Bgh. 1st. **horeū**, **horbai**; 2nd **hoifles**, **horwax**; 3rd **horiz**, **hōiflāt**.

#### (d) Imperative (Present)

##### Lakhimpuri

	sg.	pl.
2nd	<b>hor</b>	<b>horu</b>
2nd	<b>raβu</b>	<b>raβau</b>

All the dialects have the forms **ho-** and **raβ-**, the former emphasises the momentary character of action while the latter the continuity of the same. Such dialects as do not use a singular, viz., Eastern, substitute **raβex** for **raβau**.

#### (e) Future Imperative

##### Lakhimpuri

	sg.	pl.
2nd	<b>horex</b>	<b>horeu</b>
2nd	<b>raβex</b>	<b>raβeu</b>

This future Imperative is used to denote distant future as compared with the ordinary Imperative. Of the two forms **hor-** lays emphasis on the momentary character of the action and **raβ-** on the continuity of the same, e.g., **tum khartj raβeu** 'you continue eating' while **tum khartj horeu** 'you be eating'. All the dialects possess this mood. Some dialects modify their terminations as shown below :

G. 2nd per sg. **horiz**, **raβis**, Sl. and P. pl. **horjaz** **raβjaz**, Bgh. **hwax** sg., **hwaxu** pl.

#### (f) Past Conditional

##### Lakhimpuri

	sg.	pl.
1st	<b>hortiū</b>	<b>horten, horitj</b>
2nd	<b>hortj</b>	<b>hortiu</b>
3rd	<b>hortj</b>	<b>hortīr</b>

All the dialects have **hor-** forms. S and L. agree with Lmp, U. and F. have 1st **horteū**, **hortex**, 2nd **hortex**,

**horten**, 3rd **hort**, **horter**; B. agrees with Lmp. while R. and Br. have 1st **hortēū**, **horit**, 2nd **horter**, **hortuz**, 3rd **hort** (**hortai**), **hortēr**. G. 1st **horit**, 2nd sg. (**tvāī**) **hortis**, pl. (**tūz**) **hortiu**, 3rd **hort**, **hortēr**. Fy. 1st **horit**, 2nd **horten**, 3rd sg. **hort**, pl. **hortēr**. Sl., P. and A. agree with Fy. except in 2nd per. where **hortjaz** is found.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 292. The auxiliary verb of Awadhi is based on the forms of Skt.  $\sqrt{as}$ - 'to be',  $\sqrt{bhū}$ - 'to become',  $\sqrt{rti}$ - 'to exist',  $\sqrt{rah}$ - 'to depart, separate' and  $\sqrt{ā-kṣē}$ <sup>2</sup> 'to abide'.

The auxiliary, used generally as the copula in a sentence, has almost the same place in speech as a pronoun. It is in very common use but occupies an unimportant position semantically. So we find a great variety of forms. Most of the forms are based on  $\sqrt{as}$ -. There are two sorts of forms of this: (1) those which retain the initial *a*- as *a*- or *ā*- and (2) those which have lost it. The texts appear to have a preference for the retention of the initial vowel. Most of the forms of either variety are fresh forms, only a few cases go back to ancient forms, e.g. *āhi* < *asti*<sup>3</sup> through *atthi*, *āthi*, but *ahahi* is a fresh formation, taking *aḥ*- as the root, also *hate* with *hat*- as the root. Even in early Indo-Aryan  $\sqrt{as}$ - was substituted by  $\sqrt{bhū}$ - for the Future and the Conditional. We find the same in Awadhi. Besides, the past tense in Awadhi has recourse either to  $\sqrt{bhū}$ - or to  $\sqrt{rah}$ -. Both the *hū*- and *bh*- forms are attested by Early Awadhi: beside *huta* < *bhūta*, we find *bhā* which is decidedly a later formation. Modern Awadhi has discarded  $\sqrt{bhū}$ - for the past tense and has almost universally substituted  $\sqrt{rah}$ -.  $\sqrt{rti}$ - is not attested

<sup>1</sup> Turner: *Nepali Dictionary* (p. 531) under *rahnu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* (p. 191) under *channu*, also see B.S.O.S. Vol. V, Part I (p. 137).

<sup>3</sup> Chatterji derives it from \**asati*.

by Early Awadhi; its use in Modern Awadhi is restricted to one district. But it is found in Bhōjpur quite regularly, cf. Awadhi **baṛai**, Bhōj. **baṛaj**. *āch-* appears to have been infrequently used in Early Awadhi, but it is entirely absent in Modern Awadhi.

### Tenses

§ 293. In Awadhi we find the Indicative mood, the Imperative mood and the Conditional. The Indicative merely expresses the action—past, present and future. The Imperative denotes order in the case of the second person and permission or approval in the case of others. This is with reference to the present (immediate future) or to the Future (distant future). The Conditional refers to the Past where the condition has not been satisfied. Thus there result six tenses in Awadhi; these are known as simple.

Besides the above, Awadhi makes periphrastic tenses by combining the Participles with the forms of the Auxiliary Verb—six with the Imperfect Participle and six with the Perfect Participle. In effect there are eighteen tenses, viz. :—

#### A. Simple Tenses

1. Present Indicative.
2. Past Indicative.
3. Future Indicative.
4. Imperative.
5. Future Imperative.
6. Conditional.

#### B. Periphrastic Tenses

##### (a) *With the Imperfect Participle*

7. Present Imperfect Indicative—Imp. Part. and Present Indicative of the Auxiliary Verb.
8. Past Imperfect Indicative—Imp. Part. and Past Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.
9. Future Imperfect Indicative—Imp. Part. and Future Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

10. Imperfect Imperative—Imp. Part. and Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

11. Future Imperfect Imperative—Imp. Part. and Fut. Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

12. Imperfect Conditional—Imp. Part. and Conditional of the Auxiliary Verb.

(b) *With the Perfect Participle*

13. Present Perfect Indicative—Per. Part. and Pres. Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

14. Past Perfect Indicative—Per. Part. and Past Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

15. Future Perfect Indicative—Per. Part. and Future Ind. of the Auxiliary Verb.

16. Perfect Imperative—Per. Part. and Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

17. Future Perfect Imperative—Per. Part. and Fut. Imperative of the Auxiliary Verb.

18. Perfect Conditional—Per. Part. and Conditional of the Auxiliary Verb.

In Early Awadhi one does not find the same abundance of the use of periphrastic tenses as in Modern Awadhi. In Nūr Muhammad we find more instances of periphrastic tenses than in Jāyasī or Tulsīdās but even his practice is far from Modern Awadhi.

In Modern Awadhi the terminations of the various tenses are shown below and applied to **deṛkhab** 'to see' (root **deṛkh-**) for illustration. Where a distinction between the transitive and intransitive is made, forms of **marab** 'to die' (root **mar-**) have been put in.

### Participles

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 294. (a) In the texts we find *-ata* as the most general form of the Imperfect Participle used with both the numbers and all the persons, e.g.,

J. *nimikha na lāga karata ohi* 'creating, He did not take a second' (p. 4), *satta kahata rājā jiu jāū* '(my) life may end, O king, (by) telling the truth' (p. 150);

T. *rāu avadhapurū cahata sidhāē* 'the king wants to go to Ayōdhyā' (p. 145), *karata mandrathu bahu mana māhī* 'entertaining many longings in his heart' (p. 359);

N. *citarata dṛṣṭi pāra hoi jāī* '(on) seeing, the vision goes across' (p. 8), *uṣhata karējā sō niki dhūū* 'smoke always arises from (my) heart (lit. liver)' (p. 155).

(b) J. and T. change *-ata* to *-ati* for the feminine, e.g., *haū jānati haū* 'I know' (J. p. 508), *lāgati avadhi bhayāvani bhāri* 'Ayōdhyā appears extremely terrifying' (T. p. 189), *sirāti na rāfi* 'the night does not end' (T. p. 217). In periphrastic passive formations, however, the distinction of gender is sometimes absent, e.g., *(sādhumahimā) sō mō sana kahi jāta na kaisē* 'that (greatness of the good people) is not described by me, in a manner' (T. p. 4), *prīti na sō kahi jāta* 'that affection is not described' (T. p. 195).

(c) A few instances of the passive participle in *ita*, *-iata* have been noticed in Jāyasī and Tulaidās: J. *jōga jōri vaha pāitu bhōgū* 'that enjoyment is obtained by concentrating on yōga' (p. 229); T. *girā aratha jāla bīci sama, kahiata bhinna na bhinna* 'word and meaning, like waves of water, are said to be different but are not so' (p. 33), similarly *pūjiata* 'is worshipped' (p. 13), *sarāhiata* 'are admired' (p. 233), *dēkhiata* 'are seen' (p. 331, p. 409).

(d) This participle is freely used to denote the Present Indicative in the Rāmāyan and less frequently in the Indrāvati without the help of any auxiliary. In the Rāmāyan and Padmāvat, its use with the forms of the auxiliary verb is very rare (see §§ 314 and 316). In the Indrāvati the auxiliary is in greater use but still the Imperfect Participle without the auxiliary is found considerably. There does not appear to be any distinction of sense between the real Present

Indicative (based on the Ancient Present) and that indicated by this participle.

NOTE.—Note 2 under § 296 is applicable to Early Awadhi also, e.g., *auru jo bhāṭṭa bhatahi* 'others who have forgotten (the path) while coming (lit. during the coming)' (J. p. 16).

§ 295. The following forms of the Perfect Participle are found in Early Awadhi texts :

(a) in *-ā*, (b) in *-ē*, (c) in *-ī*, (d) in *-ēu*, (e) in *-iā*, (f) in *-inā*, (g) in *-esi*, *-isi*, (h) in *-ehu*, *-eu*, (i) in *-iku*, (j) in *-enhi*, *-inhi*, *-ena*, *-eni*, *-ina*, (k) in *-ī*, (l) in *-eu*, (m) in *-hi*, (n) in *-ala*, *-ila*.

Of these the first three forms (a), (b) and (c) are used both as adjective and as verb; as adjective (a) qualifies a masc. sg. noun, (b) a masculine pl. noun and (c) qualifies a fm. sg. or pl. As verb, these forms are used irrespective of person. If the root is transitive, the participle used agrees with the number and gender of the object, and if the root is intransitive, it generally agrees with the number and gender of the subject. For instance :

Jāyasī : *taba lagi rānī suā chapāvā* 'the queen concealed the parrot till . . .' (p. 89), *rānī sunā* 'the queen heard' (p. 109), *ekī jhūṭhī māyā mana bhūlā* 'in this false māyā (my) mind has wandered' (p. 113), *huma na dēkha* 'I did not see' (p. 431); *tehi ghara dui dīpaka ājiārē*, *pantha dēi kahā dai sāvārē* 'in that house the Creator prepared the two bright lamps to show (lit. give) the Path' (p. 25), *bhā bikāna pañḍita saba āē* 'it became morning and all the learned men came' (p. 81), *ohi saṭi mat pāi jaba karanī*, *ugharī jībha kathā kabi baranī* 'when I obtained the capacity from him, my tongue became unsealed and the poet (I) narrated the story' (p. 26), *jīva tumha bhāi* 'you became life' (p. 568).

Tulsidās : *saṭi marata hari sana baru māgā* 'Satī while dying asked for a boon from Hari' (p. 32), *sō phalu bhāi*

*bhāti kama pāvā* 'well have I obtained the fruit of that' (p. 51), *tadapi malina mana bōdhu na āvā* 'even then understanding did not come to my defiled mind' (p. 51), *gaṇ mātu paṭt rāmu gosāl* 'Lord Rāma went to (his) mother' (p. 177), *dīnhi asiṃ lāi ura ānhē, bhūsana basana nichāvāri kīnhē* '(she) gave blessings, embraced him closely and showered ornaments and clothes (on the servants) as gifts' (p. 177), *mat puni nija guru suna suni kathā so sūkara khēta* 'I, however, heard that story from my teacher at Sūkara-khēta' (p. 18), *dukhu dāmpatiht umā harasāni* 'Uma became pleased (but) the couple (her parents) got sorrow' (p. 33).

Nār Muḥammad : *ēka rāta sapunā mat dēkhā* 'one night I saw a dream' (p. 4), *jākh tuma sapanē mō dēkhā* 'whom you saw in dream' (p. 75), *uṣhā cakū diṣa ṭē vāṇilā* 'lamentation rose up from all the four quarters' (p. 3), *kama nā rakē karabalā thāi* 'I was not in Karhalū' (p. 3), *eka diṣa bōdhē turai birājat* 'on one side the tied horses looked beautiful' (p. 9), *gaṭha para carhī kamānat durajana dēkhi dērāya* 'the wicked on seeing the strung bows on the fort, got frightened' (p. 8), *jaga sō patijhārī ritu gāi* 'the autumn season went away from the world' (p. 52).

NOTE 1.—The final -ā, -i, -u is sometimes found short, particularly for metre, e.g., J. *dīnha, kīnha* (p. 2), *lāga* (p. 4), *bhāi* (p. 78), *gai* (p. 19); T. *baīṭha, kīnha ānha, bhas* (p. 63), *bhāi, gai, ānhī*; N. *kīnha* (p. 1) Verbs of very general occurrence have shorter forms; *bhā, bhā, gā, gē* are found in all the three texts; cf. 297 (z). In Jāyast on p. 588, *baīṭhu kat, baīṭhu* (sg.) has been used with a pl. auxiliary, it ought to have been *baīṭha*.

NOTE 2.—Transitive roots used intransitively are treated of as intransitive. In one case in Jāyast (*padumāvati hāsā* 'Padmāvati laughed', p. 420) the masc. form of the participle has been used with a feminine noun, possibly for rhyming or it might be an instance of *bhāve prayoga*. In Nār Muḥammad, however, there are many instances where the masculine form is found instead of the expected feminine.

NOTE 3.—In JĪyasī and Tulāḥḍas the use of the uninflected forms (a), (b), and (c) is found in abundance for indicating the past tense, but in Nūr Muḥammad it is much less. He uses the inflected forms generally.

Forms (d) in -eḥ and (e) in -īḥ are used with a 1st person eg. subject, (d) with masculine nouns and (e) with feminine. Sometimes, however, even when the subject is masculine, the form of the participle is feminine in order to conform with an object in the feminine gender (*sū suni samujhi sahīḥ saba sūlā* 'I (Bharata) heard and understood all that, and put up with the torture' (T. p. 259). For instance :

J. *ācā ehi hāṣā* 'I (Brāhmaṇa) came to this market' (p. 121), *āṭā ehi sāthā* 'I (a female friend of Padmāvati) came with her' (p. 103). In one instance (*jāgi utheḥ*<sup>1</sup> 'I (Padmāvati) got up from sleep', p. 439), form (d) is found with a feminine subject.

T. *anucita bacana kaheḥ agyātā* 'Not knowing you, I (Parashurāma) have uttered improper words' (p. 121), *dēkhiḥ khōja lōka tihā nāhī* 'I (Śūrpaṇakhā) have searched throughout, but (a man suitable to me) does not exist in the three worlds' (p. 300).

In one instance (*aba ura rākheḥ jō hama kaheḥ* 'keep in your mind what we have said', p. 37), form (d)—the nasalisation being absent due to rhyme—is found with a subject in the plural number.

N. Here no instances of form (e) have been found; even with fem. subjects the masculine form (d) is used : *āhō yaha nīta barajēḥ jōgī* 'O Yogin, I have prohibited you on this account'—the female gardener speaking to the Prince, (p. 43); *sumireḥ sirajanaḥārāhī jaba dēkheḥ asa rūpa* 'I

<sup>1</sup> We should, however, note that J and N. were written originally in Persian characters which did not distinguish between e and i and hence these mistakes might be due to the scribes in Devanāgarī characters.



remembered the Creator when I saw such beauty'—the Yogi speaking (p. 19).

Form (f) in *-inḥa* is found only in *Tulsīdās* and has been used with fem. subject of the 1st person plural, e.g., *hama saba.....bhainḥa dhanyu* 'all of us (women) became blessed' (p. 244). From this a corresponding masculine form in *-enḥa* can be deduced which would correspond with Modern Awadhī *-en* (§ 297).

Form (g) in *-esi* is found in all the three texts in transitive verbs, while that in *-isi* is found only in *Tulsīdās* where it always goes with a feminine noun in the 3rd pers. singular. The *-esi* form in *Jāyāsī* and *Tulsīdās* is found with 3rd sing. or 2nd sing., while in *Nūr Muhammad* only with the 3rd pers. For instance :

J. (tū) *abakū na sumpuṣa khōlesi* ' (thou *Padmāvatī*) has not yet opened the socket ' (p. 551); (sū) *kahesi calatū jan lahi tana pākhā* ' (the parrot) said : I should go away while I have wings in my body ' (p. 107).

T. (*madana*) *marana thāni mana racesi upāi* ' (Cupid) made up his mind to die and contrived means ' (p. 41). (*kaikēyi*) *māresi mōht kuṣhāū* ' (*Kaikēyī*) hit me at a bad point ' (p. 169).

(*mantharā*) *kahesi kuthā sata savati kai* ' (*Mantharā*) narrated hundreds of stories of co-wives ' (p. 164); *būrha bhayasi* ' (thou) hast grown old ' (p. 393).

NOTE.—In *Tulsīdās* this form of the participle always implies a contempt for its subject.

N. *gagana ki sōbhā kīnhesi tārā* ' (the Creator) made the stars, an ornament of the sky ' (p. 1).

Forms (h) in *-ehū (-eu)* and (i) in *-ihū* are used with the 2nd pers. plur., (h) in the masculine and (i) in the feminine. *-eu* is found very seldom in *Jāyāsī* and *Tulsīdās* while it is frequently found in *Nūr Muhammad*. The fem. form is not found in *Nūr Muhammad*. For instance :

J. *kaṭiā dui jo caḍhāehu kādhai* 'the two murders that you have borne on your shoulder' (p. 470), *āeu milai calehu mili sūā* 'O parrot, you came to meet and have moved away after the meeting' (p. 404), *jogaihu kālhi dēo kara bārī* 'that you went to the deity's garden yesterday' (p. 442), *pūji manāihu bahuta bināsi* 'after having adored him, you coaxed him by many prayers' (p. 442).

T. *muni asa kṛpā na kinhehu kāū* 'O sage, never did you show such a favour before' (p. 90), *ḍahaki ḍahaki paricehu saba kāhū* 'you have become hardened by overcoming every one' (p. 62), *(tumha) kinhihu prasna jagata hita lāgi* '(you) have put the question for the sake of the world's good' (p. 53), *rahihu baurānī* 'you were mad' (p. 64).

N. *lō dhana jā kō nāma sunāyehu* 'O lady, he whose name you have uttered (lit. made me hear)' (p. 49), *jō jōgi kaha samujheu ājū* 'if you understood the Yogi today' (p. 75).

NOTE.—On p. 25, in the *Rāmāyan* an instance occurs (*kinhahu prasna* 'you have put the question') where the termination *-ahu* appears for *-ehu* and is obviously a misprint.

Forms (j) and (k) are used with a subject in the 3rd pers. plur.; of these (k) in *-ī* is used only with a feminine subject and generally when the verb is intransitive, while (j) is found with the masculine generally and with the feminine when the verb is transitive. *-enhi* is found in *Jāyasi*, *-enhi* and *-inhi* in *Tulsidās* without any distinction and *-ena*, *-eni* and *-ina* (fm.) in *Nūr Muhammad*. There is only one instance in *Tulsidās* where *-eni* is found (*raheni tahā* 'there they lived', p. 90 of the 1915 edition), but this reading has been discarded in the later edition. For instance:

J. *chāisenhi lōga kuṭāba saba kōū* 'all left their people and family' (p. 263), *dhari āra saba kamcuki sārī* 'on the bank (the women) put their sārīs and bodices (p. 99),

*jāi pāli para thādhi bhāl* ' (the women) went and stood on the bank ' (p. 95).

T. *darcha-sutanha upadēsinihi jāi* ' (he—respectful plural) went and advised the sons of Dakṣa ' (p. 38), *jēhi ripu chaya soi racenhi upāu* ' they contrived means by which the enemy might be destroyed ' (p. 75), *brnda brnda mili cal logāt* ' the women started in groups ' (p. 85).

N. *sumirena indrāvatī kara nāi* ' they remembered the name of Indrāvatī ' (p. 26), *bahula amī adharana para diheni sindhu mō prāna* ' many men abandoned their lives for the sake of the nectar-lips ' (p. 49), *samujhāina saba sakhi sayāni* ' all the wise friends advised (her) ' (p. 75), *bhai na bilamba sakhi saba āi* ' there was no delay, all the friends came ' (p. 52).

Nora -*ē* is sometimes shortened to -*i* for the sake of metre, e.g., J. *caī*, (p. 415), T. *caī* (p. 28).

Form (l) in -*eu* is found in all the three texts with the 3rd person singular subject, e.g., Jāyasi : *jō gā luhā bhulōneu sōi* ' whoever went there lost (the way) ' (p. 153), *naeu* ' became subdued ' (p. 19); Tulsi : *nārada jāneu nāma pratāpū* ' Nārada came to realise the powerful effect of the Name ' (p. 16), *ratha samēta rubi thākeu* ' the sun stayed with his chariot ' (p. 86); Nūr Muhammad : *jā kaha karatā darasa dekhāen* ' to whom the Creator showed the path ' (p. 2), *jagata bhāneu adhiyāra* ' the universe became dark ' (p. 3).

Form (m) in -*ehi* is found with the 2nd pers. sing. and only in Tulsiḍā, e.g., *rē saṭha sunchi subhāu na mōrā* ' O knave, thou hast not heard about my nature ' (p. 116).

In one case -*ē* is found (*jānē naht marama saṭha mōrā* ' O knave thou did not know my secret ' p. 344).

Only a few instances of form (n) are found in Nūr Muhammad and obviously they are borrowed from Bihārī, e.g., *tāpala rahai* ' remains heated ' (p. 58), *gaila sakhi taha bahila bayārā* ' the friend went, there the breeze blew ' (p. 161).

Similarly Braj forms and Bhōjapuri forms are found occasionally in Tulsīdās as loan-words.

### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 296. The Imperfect Participle in Lakhimpurī has three forms, (a) in **-Atj**, (b) in **-itj** and (c) in **-Atiz**. Form (b) is used with the 1st pers. pl. in both the genders, *e.g.*, **ham derkhitj hai** 'we (masc. or fem.) are seeing' and (c) in **-Atiz** with the fem. pl. of the 2nd and 3rd pers., *e.g.*, **tum dekhatiz hau** 'you (females) are seeing', **ui dekhatiz haĩ** 'they (females) are seeing'. For all other cases, *i.e.*, singular in both genders and plural masculine in the 2nd and 3rd pers. the form (a) in **-Atj** is used.

(a) The final **-j** of forms (a) and (b) is found in Sitapur, Lucknow (western and southern) and in parts of Unao only, in other districts it is absent.

The use of the form (c) in **-Atiz** is extended to 1st pers. pl. also in Unao and other places bordering on Kanauli area, *e.g.*, **ham derkhit hai** 'we (men) see', **ham dekhatiz han** 'we (women) see'. In parts of Kheri district bordering on Hardoi, (b) is found ending in **-iatj** (**jaiatj**, **cahiatj**, **khaiatj**, etc.). In Parabanki and parts of Sultanpur, form (b) in **-it** is not used, the (a) form has taken its place. The dialects of Bahraich and Sultanpur as well as parts of Fyzabad distinguish the gender in the Imperfect Participle in the 3rd person sg. and pl., *e.g.*, **derkhat hai** (masc.), **derkhatj hai** (fem.), **derkhat haĩ** (masc.), **derkhatj haĩ** (fem.).

NOTE 1.—Of the forms of the auxiliary, present tense **hai** and past tense **rahi hai** (and their corresponding forms in the dialects) are used with **-itj** or **-iatj** forms of the 1st pers. plural.

NOTE 2.—The Imperfect Participle is sometimes used as a verbal noun also, *e.g.*, Imp. **hamarex kharitj me dundu ne macarox** 'do not make a noise while I am eating (lit. in my eating)'. It emphasises the imperfection of the act.

§ 297. The Perfect Participle in Lakhimpurī has the following forms:—

- (a) in -az, *e.g.*, **derkhar** 'seen', **paṛṣaz** 'read', **maraz** 'died', **gawaz** 'went.'
- (b) in -ex, *e.g.*, **derkhez**, **paṛṣez**, **marez**, **gaex**
- (c) in -ix, *e.g.*, **derkhir**, **paṛṣhir**, **marix**, **gaix**
- (d) in -eū, *e.g.*, **derkheū**, **paṛṣeū**, **mareū**, **gaeū**
- (e) in -iū, *e.g.*, **marīū**, **gaiū**
- (f) in -en, *e.g.*, **derkhen**, **paṛṣen**, **maren**, **gaen**
- (g) in -isj, *e.g.*, **derkhisj**, **paṛṣisj**
- (h) in -eu, *e.g.*, **derkheu**, **paṛṣheu**, **mareu**, **gaeu**
- (i) in -in, *e.g.*, **marin**, **gain**
- (j) in -inj, *e.g.*, **derkhinj**, **paṛṣinj**
- (k) in -īz, *e.g.*, **marīz**, **gaīz**

As regards the use of these forms, the dialects show a difference between transitive and intransitive verbs. Forms (a) and (c) are used to qualify a subject in the singular number of masc. and fem. gender respectively, when the verb is either intransitive by itself or bears an intransitive or passive sense, *e.g.*, **mai gawaz haū** 'I have gone' (masc.), **maigair haū** 'I have gone' (fem.), but **maiderkhar haū** 'I am one who has been seen' (masc.), **maiderkhir haū** 'I am one who has been seen' (fem.), **mai paṛṣaz** (or **paṛṣir**) **haū** 'I am read—literate' (masc. or fem.). Similarly in the plural, forms (b) and (c) are used, *e.g.*, **ham gaex han** 'we have gone' (masc.), **ham gaix han** 'we have gone' (fem.), **ham derkhez han** 'we are those who have been seen' (masc.), **ham derkhir han** 'we are those who have been seen' (fem.). In the same manner they are used with the subjects in the 2nd and 3rd person.

In the case of transitive verbs form (b) in -ex is used with the subject of any number and person (except 3rd plur.) and gender, *e.g.*, **mai derkhez baū**, **tui derkhez hai**, **uz** or **waz derkhez hai**, **ham derkhez han**, **tum derkhez hau**. Here it always bears an active sense. Forms (d) in

**-eũ** and **(e)** in **-iũ** are used with 1st pers. eg. **mai** only, **(d)** with both genders when the verb is transitive and with masculine when the verb is intransitive, e.g., **mai derkheũ** 'I (masc. or fem.) have seen', **mai gaeũ** 'I went' (masc.) and **(e)** in fem. gender only when the verb is intransitive, e.g., **mai gaiũ** 'I went' (fem.). Form **(f)** in **-en** is used when the subject is in 1st pers. pl., irrespective of the gender, and the verb is either transitive or intransitive, e.g., **ham derkhen hai** 'we have seen', **ham gajen hai** 'we have gone'. Form **(g)** is used when the verb is transitive and the subject is either in 2nd pers. eg. or in 3rd pers. eg., e.g., **tui derkhisj hai** 'thou hast seen', **ux** or **wax derkhisj hai** 'he or she has seen'.

Forms **(h)** in **-eu** and **(i)** in **-in** are used when the subject is in the 2nd person plural, **(h)** in both genders with a transitive verb and in masc. gender with an intransitive verb, e.g., **tum derkheu hai** 'you have seen' (masc. or fem.), **tum gaeu hai** 'you have gone' (masc.) and **(i)** in fem. gender only when the verb is intransitive, e.g., **tum gaiu hai** 'you have gone' (fem.). Form **(j)** in **-inj** is used when the verb is transitive and the subject is in the 3rd pers. plur. irrespective of gender, e.g., **ui derkhinj hai** 'they have seen' (masc. or fem.). Form **(k)** is used with 3rd pers. plur. fem. only, when the verb is intransitive and is used independently without an auxiliary, e.g., **ui gaiĩ** 'they went', but **ui gaiĩ haĩ** 'they have gone'.

NOTE 1.—With forms **(d)** to **(j)**, the auxiliary **hai** (present) and **raĩhai** (past)—and their corresponding forms in the district dialects (e.g., **bax**, **baxťai**) are used and not other forms of the present or past, e.g., **mai derkheũ hai** and not **mai derkheũ haũ**.

The dialects of the districts show considerable divergence with regard to the use of the forms of the perfect participle. Forms **(a)** and **(c)** are used, irrespective of the verb being transitive or intransitive, in all persons and

numbers, in all the dialects except Lmp. and S. In the Eastern dialects, sometimes, the distinction of gender also is not observed, e.g., Fy. **ham derkhar rafien** 'we had seen'. Sl. **ham derkhar afiz** 'we have seen'. B. **ham derkhar hai** 'we have seen', L. **ham kharwar** 'we ate', U. **ham dekharwar rafiai** 'we had shown', Sl. **tūz derkhar rafijaz** 'you keep seeing', U. **tum kaiser batarwar** 'how did you tell?', P. **afir kafiaz** 'the Ahir said', G. **ardfiz rart bhaz** 'midnight came', **meftariruz calaz gai** 'the woman went away', B. **razjaz balazwar** 'the king called', U. **sārp karṭij kharwar rafiai** 'the serpent had bitten', **waz dhariz rafiasij** 'she had put', Sl. **waj derkhar rafioz** 'they had seen', U. **un khabarj paziz** 'they got the news', **cazriu bhariz jaznez nariz parwar** 'the four brothers could not know'. Form (b) is used with the plural when the verb is intransitive and with 1st sg. and 2nd sg. where they exist (western and central dialects), with 1st pl. and 2nd pl. in all the dialects and also with 3rd pl. even in the case of transitive verbs in the Eastern dialects, e.g., Br. **maī derkhar hozū** 'if I may have seen', R. **tui derkhez hai** 'thou hast seen', Sl. **ham derkhez afiz** 'we have seen', Sl. **tūz derkhez horteu** 'had you seen', Fy. **waj derkhez rafiaī** 'they had seen'.

This form appears as nasalised in the extreme East, e.g., A. **hamazr bhiazj azjēz** 'our brothers have come'. Form (d) in **-eū** (Br. **-eū**) and Form (e) in **-iū** are used in Western and Central dialects like Lmp., in the Eastern dialects they are rare and do not maintain a distinction of transitive and intransitive, (d) being used as the masculine and (e) as feminine. Forms (f) in **-en** and (j) in **-inj** (**-in**) are used both with the 1st plural and the 3rd plural, the form in **-un** also is found on the Kanaujī borders of Sitapur and Unao, e.g., B. **ham larin** 'we brought', **ham gain** 'we went' & **ham jhotharj qazrinj** 'we thrashed him', F. **ham lautj arun** 'we came back', Sl. **waj derkhen** 'they saw', P.

**waj derkhen bai** 'they have seen', U. **wai kaṭarunī** 'they got (it) cut', M. or **axjen au kaṣen** 'they came and said', or **jaxi largen** 'they started to go', **dui beṭawax raṣen** 'there were two sons'. Form (g) in **-isj** is found as **-esj** (es) in parts of Lucknow, Unao, Fatehpur and in R., B. and P. On the borders of Kanaujī it is also found as **-osi**. In P. and other Eastern dialects it is found with intransitive verbs also, e.g., G. **twāṭ maris** 'thou died', **twāṭ khaxj largisj** 'thou began to eat', P. **derkhes raṣai** 'had seen', U. (Kanaujī border) **diznṣosj** 'gave' **kirnṣosj** 'did'. Forms (h) in **-eu** and (i) in **-ju** are found used in all the dialects, with this difference that the Eastern dialects use (h) with masculine subject and (i) with feminine subjects, irrespective of the verbs being transitive or intransitive, e.g., P. **tūx horteu** (masc.) and **tūx hortiu** (fem.) 'had you been'. Form (k) is used with 1st. pl. (fm.) and 2nd pl. (fm.) also in the case of intransitive verbs in U. and F., e.g., **ham marīx** 'we died', **ham gaṭīx** 'we went'.

(x) Such intransitive roots as contain a long syllable (e.g., **larg** 'to appear', **baith-** 'to sit', **sarmar-** 'to be ashamed'), generally elide the terminations **-ax** and **-ex** and substitute **-j** for **-jz** (fm. sg.). In the Eastern dialects this **-j** also does not appear sometimes, e.g., **largax larg**, **baithex baith**, **largix largj**, **baithix baithj**. A specimen from Unao gives **paithi**, **largi** as masc. pl. where **-i** should represent **-e**.

(y) Roots in **-ax**, however, before accepting the above change have the augment **-n-** between the root and the terminations, e.g., **sarmamax sarmain**, **sarmaxnix sarmainj**.

Monosyllabic roots ending in **-ax** (e.g., **ax-** 'to come', **lar** 'to bring') neither insert **-n-** nor have the shorter forms by eliding the terminations.

(z) **jax** 'to go', **hox** 'to become', **dex** 'to give', **lex** 'to take' and **kar** 'to do' have their perfect participle forms with **ga-**, **bṣa-**, **diṣ-**, **liṣ-** and **kiṣ-** respectively. In the



case of **kar-** both are optionally used (e.g., **karēū** or **kīfiēū**). **ga** and **bhā** have shorter forms also, **gawar gar**, **gaer gar**, **gaiz gai**, **bhāwar bhāz**, **bhāer bhēz**, **bhāiz bhāi**.

NOTE 2.—For the insertion of **-w-** see below § 341 (d). In the Central dialects and in south L. U. and P., we find the **-n**, **-nī** forms of the Perfect Part. of **kar-**, **der-**, **ler-** (**kīzn**, **kīznī**, **dīzn**, **dīznī**, **līzn**, **līznī**).

### C. ORIGIN

§ 298. The Imperfect participle is based on the ancient present participle (**īatṛ**) in **-anta**. There are three forms in Modern Awadhi, **-At**, **-Atī** and **-itī** (**īAtī**). The Eastern form in **-Atī** and the Western in **-Atiz** are mere feminine forms. The fm. form **-Atī** is attested by the Rāmāyan. What is the basis of the maso. **-Atī** form? It is found in some dialects of Western Hindi also. This goes back, most probably, to the Māgadhi and Ardha Māgadhi Nom. sg. in **-ā**, as opposed to **-ū** of the Western Prakrits. The **-ā** develops into **ex**, **i**, **-ī** and then loses ground. It appears that the **i** (**ī**) had already disappeared in the dialects represented by Jāyasī, Tulsidās and Nūr Muhammad. The final **-a** in the participle is merely orthographic and not of actual speech. Another possible derivation is from the loc. sg. (e.g., **dēkhanā**) of the participle, but in view of the fact that the Nom. sg. form is at the basis of the Western Hindi participle, this derivation appears improbable.

(a) The **-itī** (**-īAtī**) participle is based on the passive form of the ancient present participle (**paṭhānta**).

§ 299. The Perfect participle is based on the ancient passive past participle (**kṛta**), sg. maso. in **-ā** on Nom. sg. **-ao**, sg. fm. in **-ī** on Nom. sg. fm. in **-ī-** and pl. or obl. on the ancient plural in **-aḥ** or on the obl. in **-aḥ**. The other forms are inflected according to person, gender and number. What are these affixes? Eastern Hindi shares this principle of affixation with the Eastern Mod. IA languages. Three suggestions have been made to derive these affixes, viz.,

(1) the pronominal forms, (2) the terminations of the present tense and (3) the forms of the auxiliary verb. As far as Awadhi is concerned the last suggestion suits it the best as shown below :—

The affix for the 1st pers. sg. is (a) -*aū* and (e) -*iū* (fm.) This can be either the pronoun *haū* as the enclitic, or the termination -*aū* of the present or the auxiliary *haū*, e.g., *dēkhē -aū* or *haū* may become *dēkheū* and *dēkhi-aū* or *haū dēkhiū*. The affix for the 1st pers. pl. is (r) -*en*; the form in the eastern dialects is -*in*. This, however, cannot be derived either from the pronoun *ham* or from the termination of the present tense (which as shown below § 303 is a passive form), but only from the auxiliary *han* (*dēkhē -han dēkhen*, later *dēkhiin*, by the interchange of *e* : *i*). The affix for the 2nd sg. is generally (g) -*isī*, -*esi* which can go back only to the auxiliary *hasi*.<sup>1</sup> This was later extended in use to the 3rd sg. as well. The affix for the 2nd pl. is (h) -*eu* -masc. or (i) -*iū* fm. which goes back to the auxiliary *han*, *hahū*, but can as well be derived from the termination of the present -*aū*, *au*. The 3rd pers. fm. form (k) in -*ī* has merely nasalisation, to distinguish it from the singular. It is not peculiar to the 3rd pers. but used with the 1st and 2nd pers. also. The 3rd pl. masc. affix (i) -*inī*, *en* (E. Aw. -*enhi*, -*inhi*, -*ena*, -*eni*, -*ina*) is derived by Hoernle (p. 346) from *nhi* (< *nti*) but the nasal in such a position does not survive; the -*nhi* is not attested at all. The Prakrit, Apabhramśa (see Pischel, p. 323 and *Bhavisayatta Kahā* G.O.S., p. 24) as well as E. Awadhi attest only -*hi*.

It is only in Sindhi, Sīnā, Bengali and Gypsy that -*n*- is found in the 3rd pl. present. But is it a development of -*nt*? Neither does the pronoun nor the auxiliary appear to be at the source. The obl. pl. of the nouns and

<sup>1</sup> Bloch (Survivance de Skr. *ḥasī* en Indian Moderne—BSL. XXXIII Fas. I, pp. 55-56) derives this from the ancient auxiliary *ḥasī* > *ḥei* which is also a good explanation.

pronouns ends in *-an* (E. Aw. *-anha*, *-anhi* etc.). Can that have something to do with this form of the participle? <sup>1</sup> E. Awadhi affix (1) *-eu* has the direct case of the noun, while (m) *-ehi* can be derived from the participle plus *aḥi*, *asi*. The (n) *-la* forms are loan-words from the neighbouring Bihārī dialects and go back to *-illa* suffix of Middle Indo-Aryan.<sup>2</sup>

§ 300. That the auxiliary is again being incorporated into the participles is fully corroborated by modern Awadhi. For instance: Lmp. *kañhāz jaxti hau* appears in regular speech as *kañhāz jaxtiu* 'where are you going?', F. and Bgb. *kherhtiz tīz* 'were playing' for *kherhtiz hatīz*, tum *kañhāz gor tior* 'where had you been?' for tum *kañhāz gor hatior*, *biarā ke khwarj kar gar ten* 'I had been in search of marriage' for . . *gar haten*, *wax baxt gor kuāz maz kañhātiu tiu* 'that thing which you were saying in the well' for . . . . . *kañhātiu hatiu*. Similar examples have been found in Western Hindi also in abundance.

### Present Indicative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 301. The following are the terminations:

	sg.	pl.
1st person	<i>-aū, -ō</i>	( <i>-ahṛ</i> )
2nd person	<i>-asi</i>	<i>-aḥu</i>
3rd person	<i>-aḥi, -ai, -u</i>	<i>-ahṛ, -at</i>

1st sg. *-aū* is the termination in all the three texts, *-ō* being found only in a few instances in Nūr Muhammad. For instance:

Jāyast: *dvi māraga dēkhaū ehi hāfā* 'I see two paths in this market' (p. 124), *sēva karaū tehi ṣhāū* 'I serve at her place' (p. 131).

Tulsi: *tōṭē mat toki barajāū rājā* 'O king, therefore, I forbid you' (p. 73), *āju saṣṭhāki kaṣṭhi māraū dhṛ* 'to-day I shall forcibly kill the scoundrel' (p. 393).

<sup>1</sup> See Chatterji, p. 936.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, § 426.

Nūr Muhammad : *kahaṣ na pōthī khelaṣ khēlā* 'I do not write (lit. say) a book, but I play a game' (p. 4), *sadā karēja sarōnīla piyaṣ* 'I always drink the blood of the heart' (p. 78), *baranō rājā kī phulavārī* 'I describe the king's garden' (p. 8).

1st pl.—No instances of 1st pl. active forms are available either in Tulsīdās or Nūr Muhammad, only in Jāyasi we have three instances, viz., *jaṭ re jiaṣ mīlī keli karaṣ* 'if we live, let us sport together' (p. 570), *marahṣ to* 'if die then' (p. 570), *calahu mahēsa dekhahṣ eka ghārī* 'let us go, Mahēsa, and see for a moment' (p. 579). In Tulsīdās in *kahahu kahihi kē kinhi bhalāi* 'tell me, whom shall we mention as having done good (to us)' (p. 288), *kahihi* at the first instance appears as an active form, but it is really passive, standing for *kahia*.

2nd ag.—For instance :

Jāyasi : *kahasi paṁkhi khādhuka mānāvā* 'eatest (thou) that man is an eater of birds' (p. 126), *naina jo dēkhasi pūchasi kāhā* 'why dost thou ask what thou see-est' (p. 468);

Tulsī : *saṁkara bimukha jiāvasi mōḥ* 'thou keepest me alive when Śankara is displeased (with me)' (p. 30).

NOTE.—In one instance, viz., *chaṭrabandhu taṭ bipra bolāi, ghālāt lū sahita samudāi* 'O wretched Kṣatriya, thou killest the Brāhmanas after having invited them all' (p. 76), *-ai* appears as the termination of 2nd ag

Nūr Muhammad : *abahṣ ahasi sarēkhā, jahā cāhasi laha jāsi* 'now thou art young, thou goest wherever thou wantest' (p. 43).

2nd pl.—Only in Tulsīdās there are a few instances of this form being used as Present, otherwise it is found as Imperative or Conjunctive. Tulsī, for instance, *cāhahu sunai rāma guna gūrhā* 'You want to hear the great (secret) qualities of Rāma' (p. 25).

3rd sg.—*-ahi* forms are found in Tulsidās and Jāyasi only as alternating with *-ai* and *-a* forms, in Nūr Muhammad one finds only *-ai*. For instance :

Jāyasi : *ārahi rōi jāhi kai rōnā* 'weeping he comes and weeping goes' (p. 126), *kinhesi amī jiai jehi pāi* 'He has created nectar by obtaining which (one) revives' (p. 6), *kō sari mō saī pāvai* 'who can obtain equality with me' (p. 83), *kharaga dāna sari pūja na kōi* 'not one reaches his equality in sword and charity' (p. 67). In one instance, *tahi para bāju rāja ghariārā* 'on that rings the king's bell' (p. 64), the termination appears as *-u*.

Tulsi : the aspirated form is much less in use than the unaspirated one, *nāhina daru bigarahi paratōkū* 'I have no fear that my other world is spoilt' (p. 239), *urāi abira manahū arunārī* 'the *abira* (the red powder) is in the air and everything appears red' (p. 85), *ḍagai na sambhu sarāsana kaisē* 'how is it that the bow of Sambhu does not stir' (p. 108), *bāha samīpa surasari suhārani* 'near by, flows the beautiful Ganges' (p. 58).

Nūr Muhammad : *sukha pāvai mānusa sabai saba kōi nibāha* 'man gets happiness, and every one's business goes uninterrupted' (p. 2), *tākō sarana tāki jō āvai* 'he who comes aiming at his refuge' (p. 152).

3rd pl.—*-ahs* only is found in Jāyasi, *-ahs* generally in Tulsi but *-as* also sometimes while *-as* generally in Nūr Muhammad, e.g.,

Jāyasi : *kinhesi paṁkhi udahs jaha cahahs* 'He created the birds (which) fly where (they) want' (p. 4), *utarahs cadhahs lōga cahū phērī* 'people get down and get up on all sides' (p. 48).

Tulsi : *basahs nagara sundara nara nārī* 'handsome men and women reside in the city' (p. 59), *parama krōdha mijahs saba hāthā* 'all wring their hands owing to great anger' (p. 365), *manu kupanṭha pagu dharas na kām* 'they do not put their heart or foot on a wrong path' (p. 100).

Nūr Muhammad : *eka disa bādhē turai birājat* 'on one side the horses, tied down, look beautiful' (p. 8), *dhana kē rōvatā rōvat cēri* 'when the lady weeps, the maid-servants weep' (p. 26), *lēhī dhani nidhani pachatāhī* 'the rich take them while the poor feel sorry' (p. 9).

The forms of this tense are regularly used as Present Indicative in Jāyāsī and Tulsi but in Nūr Muhammad the Present Imperfect Indicative is taking its place. As shown above [§ 294 (d)] the Imperfect participle is alternatively used to denote the Present.

The Present Indicative, like Modern Awadhi, is employed to denote the Present Conjunctive by prefixing some word meaning 'if', e.g., *sātu saraga jāū kāgada karaī* 'if the seven heavens, He turns into paper' (J. p. 13), *jū bīlki rījhai kārī* 'if on seeing, the princess is enamoured' (T. p. 60), *ēka manuja bhējē jāu jāū* 'If I go when (he) has sent only one man' (N. p. 65).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

##### § 302.

Lmp.

	sg.	pl.
1st	-Aū (derkhaū)	-iz (derkhiz)
2nd	-Ai (derkhai)	{ +Au (derkhaū) -oz (kurawoz)
3rd	-Ai (derkhai)	-Aī (derkhaī)

I pl. U. and West S. -iAi (dekhiAi), Bgh. An (derkhan); II sg. Br. -er (derkher), Bgh. derkhas; II pl. East Sl. and P. -jaz or -az (derkhjaz or derkhaz), Br. and P. -er (derkher), Bgh. derkhan or derkhab; III sg. Bgh. derkhi.

This tense is no longer used in common speech (except in the case of the substantive verb 'to be') to indicate the Present Indicative, instead the Present Imperfect Indicative is used, e.g., for 'I see' *mai derkhatī haū* is used and not *mai derkhaū*, but for 'I am', *mai haū*. It, however,

survives in songs (e.g., **soxwan ki jagau moriz airdhi bñawani jagato keriz razmiz . . . bali jairū** 'are you sleeping or waking, revered Bhavānī, queen of the world, I bow') as the Present Indicative and in stories as the historic present or habitual past, e.g., **mañotazriz rozjā chapian parkazi ke bñorjan banarwai** 'the mother used to prepare food of fifty-six varieties daily', **rajjaz kaceñori sē axjer derkhai kiz kōzi kē juxtañ dñaroz** 'the Raja returned from the Court and what does he see—that some one's shoes were there.'

The forms of the Present Indicative are also employed as the Present Conjunctive. The condition is shown by prefixing the sentence by some word meaning 'if', e.g., **jor mai tum kiz dhorkhaz derū tau kañeu** 'If I deceive you, blame me', **jor uz derkhai tau erka tamazcar marri dñeu** 'if he sees, give him a slap.'

NOTE.—After roots mentioned in 343 (d) (**kura**-etc.) the termination of the 2nd pl. **-au** is found as **oz** (e.g., **kurawoz, naroz, azoz khezoz, dñorwōz, soxwōz**).

### C. ORIGIN.

§ 303. The forms of the Present Indicative are based on the ancient Present tense (*laṣ*), only there has been some levelling in MIA.

1st sg.—Skt. **-āmi**, Pkt. **-āmi** gives Marāṭhī **-am**, Bg. **-i**, **-ṛ**; Gypsy, Gujarati and Hindi have **-ō**, **-ā**. Can the labial nasal **-m** become **-ō** **-ā** and efface **-i**, thus **-mi** becoming **-ā**? This appears unlikely. It is certain that the plural termination Skt. **-āmaḥ** Pkt. **-āmō** is at the base of the singular. The shifting of the number has to be explained. But we should remember that the 1st person subject is very seldom expressed and that when it was expressed it used to be generally in the plural number. Generally the 1st plural was used in the passive construction, as is clear from the

absence in Awadhi of any active termination (see below). These facts explain the shift.

1st pl.—In Modern Awadhi we find *-ix* and sometimes *-iai*. This goes back to the passive MI. *-iai* (e.g., *paḍhiai*). In Early Awadhi we find one form in *-ihī* which can be traced to the above passive. In Jāyāsī we find three forms in *-aht*. These should be connected with West-Hindi, modern *-āz* (*deṣkhāz*). The same termination is found in the 3rd pl. derived from *-anti*. Is it a case of substitution, but why?

2nd sg.—The termination *Ai*, *-ez* cannot go back to E. Aw. *-asi* directly; there is only one instance of *-Ai* in E. Aw. One has to assume that side by side with *-asi*, a form in *-ahi* was in use in Early Awadhi; this is found in the Imperative as an alternative with *-asi* in Tulsī and is attested by Apabhraṃśa (Bhavisayattakāhā G.O.S., p., 24).

2nd pl.—Skt. *-atha*, Pkt. *-aḥu*, Ap. *-aḥu*, E. Aw. *-aḥu*, Mod. Aw. *-au*, *-ax*. The *-au* form is regular from *-aḥu*. The change from Pkt. *-aḥa* to *-aḥu* appears to be on the analogy of 1st pl. *-āmō*. Modern *-ax* < *-aḥa*, cf. Marāṭhī *-ā* (Bloch, p. 233). Or the accent on the penultimate syllable might be responsible for the dropping out of the final *-u* of *-aḥu*, the *h* in *-ax* is still sometimes heard.

3rd sg.—Skt. *-ati*, Pkt. *-ai*, E. Aw. *-ai* (*-ahi*), Modern *-Ai*. As shown above (Part I, Chapter II) Awadhi generally retains vowel-combinations, only rarely have they contraction; the final *-i* here is retained after *-a*. The *-ahi* forms in Early Awadhi further show that there was some emphatic aspiration which also might have been responsible for keeping the vowel-combination here intact. The E. Aw. *-a* form is, in all probability, the past participle used as historic present or habitual past.

3rd pl.—Skt. *-anti*, Pkt. *-anti*, Ap. and E. Aw. *-aht*, Modern *-ī*. What is this *-h*? It is attested by Apabhraṃśa.



### Past Indicative

§ 304. As shown above various forms of the Perfect Participle are used to denote the past tense both in Early and Modern Awadhi. For instance in Lakhtimpuri :

	sg.	pl.
1st	-eū (derkheū)	-en (derkhen)
2nd	-ex (derkher), :sī (derkhisī)	-eu (derkheu)
3rd	-isī (derkhisī)	-inj (derkhinj)

Bgh. has the following forms :

	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1st	derkheū	derkhi	derkhen	derkhen
2nd	derkheh	derkhih	derkheh	derkheh
3rd	derkha:	derkhi:	derkhen	derkhen

Lakhtimpuri maintains a distinction between the transitive and intransitive, as shown by the following forms of **mar-**

1st	masc. -eū (mareū), -ax (marax);	-en (maren)
	fem. -iū (mariū), -ix (marix)	„
2nd	masc. -ax (marax)	-eu (mareu)
	fem. -ix (marix)	-iu (mariu)
3rd	masc. -ax (marax)	-ex (marex)
	-ix (marix)	-īx (marīx)

The dialectal variation has been shown above (§297).

(a) This tense refers to a momentary action which happened in the past, e.g., **jab mai huā se caleū tabtum huēx narix rāhau** 'when I started from there, you were not in the place'.

If a continuous action in the past is meant to be indicated, a root indicating continuity is employed, e.g. **mai baitheū** 'I sat', **mai baitē rāheū** 'I remained seated'. The difference between this tense and the Present Perfect Indicative and the Past Perfect Indicative is chiefly this that the effect of the last two lasts after the action while it does not last in the case of this tense. The Past Indicative may, however,

be used to denote an action just completed (for which English uses Present Perfect), e.g., *uz manaiṛ jix kar tum puxchatṛ raṣṭau aṛi gawar* 'the man about whom you were inquiring has arrived'. Thus, here, the momentary action of 'arriving' is emphasised, not its effect. If the effect were to be emphasised, the Present Perfect would be used.

(b) Used conjunctively this tense refers to a future action, e.g. *jo mai bazar gaeṁ tau tumṣariz khair tapkar lajaiṣṭā* 'If I go (lit. if I went) to the market, I shall bring mangoes for you'.

NOTE.—In Lmp. in the case of  $\sqrt{\text{Iax}}$  'to bring', the terminations of the intransitive (-ax, -ix etc.) are found in spite of the root being transitive, e.g. *mai rupajax laziṁ* 'I (fem.) brought money.' Is it that a root involving motion, i.e. *gatyarthaka*, has the same treatment as the intransitive roots?

### Future Indicative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 305. The following are the terminations :

	sg.	pl. .
1st	-ihaṁ, -aba, -abaṁ abai, abi	-aba, abi, -abā, abai, idē
2nd	-ihasi, -aba	-ihahu, -aba, -ibī, -abi, -abō
3rd	-ihai, -ihī, -ī, -aba,	-ihaht, (-ihat), -iht, -aba

1st sg.—In Jāyasi we find -ihaṁ, -aba and -abaṁ; in Tulsi -ihaṁ, -aba and -abi while in Nūr Muhammad -aba and -abai. For instance :

Jāyasi : *deihai bhuguti dehai jaya-mālā* 'I shall give enjoyment and the victory-garland' (p. 403), *ghara kaisai paṣhaba mat chūchē, kaunu utara dēbai tinha pūchē* 'empty how shall I enter the house? when they ask, what answer shall I give?' (p. 121).

Tulsi : *tasa kahihai hiya hari kē prārē* 'so shall I say, impelled in the heart by Hari' (p. 18); *hari dēbe mat hari*

*nija māyā* 'I shall seduce him away by my deceit' (p. 74), *bhāṣā-baddha karabi mat sōi* 'I shall render it in (popular) language' (p. 18).

Nūr Muhammad: *karaba mat sēvā* 'I shall render service' (p. 32), *anta ḍka dina hōbai khēhā* 'ultimately one day, I shall be (turned into) ashes' (p. 35).

1st pl.—Jāyasi -*aba*, -*abi*, Tulsi -*aba*, -*abā*, -*abai* and -*idē*, N. Muhammad -*aba*; for instance:

J. *puni sūra hama gāvanaba kālī* 'then tomorrow, we shall go to our fathers'-in-law' (p. 96), *kaunu utaru pāubi kīta mōkhū* 'what answer shall we get, whence will the deliverance be?' (p. 97).

T. *hamahū kahaba aba ṣhakurasohāṣi* 'we also shall now say words flattering to the master' (p. 163), *jīyata na karabi savati sevakāi* 'while I am alive, I shall not serve my rival' (p. 165), *dēbā, dekhībai, dekhībē*.

N. *hama keki kārana karaba ṣṡgārā* 'why shall we adorn ourselves?' (p. 25).

2nd sg.—the instances are found in Tulsidas only:

J. *jaihasi tat samēta parivārā* 'thou shall go (to hell) with thy family' (p. 76), *tinhaht milē tat hōba punītā* 'on meeting them, thou shall be purified' (p. 337).

2nd pl.—J. -*ihahu* and -*aba*, T. -*ihahu* (*iahu*), -*aba* and -*idē*, N. -*aba*. For instance:

J. *kā kahihahu jaba dekhīhahu rōhū* 'what will you say when you will see the herring?' (p. 312), *kaisai dhūpa sahaba binu chāhā* 'how will you bear the sun without shade?' (p. 247).

T. *jaba lagi tumha aihahu mohi pāht* 'till you come to me' (p. 27), *bhujabala bisva jitaba tumha jahiā* 'when you will conquer the universe by the might of your arms' (p. 63), *ehi rāja sāja samēta sēvaka jāniōi* 'know me to be your servant with all the king's equipment' (p. 140), *ē dārikā paricārīkē kari pālāṣi* 'please protect these daughters, taking

them as your maids' (p. 140), *aparādha chamibē* 'forgive the fault.'

NOTE.—*-ibē*, *-abē* and *-ibē* are used more as imperatives and are honorific.

3rd sg.—J. *-ihī*, *-ī*, *-ihai* and *-aba*, T. *-ihī*, *-ī* and *-aba*, N. *-ihī*, *-ī* and *-ihai*. For instance :

J. *kaisai nīda parihi bhut māhā* 'how will sleep come, on the ground' (p. 247), *miṭi so kaunahu phēru* 'then that will come together in some way' (p. 396), *bāura karihai kāhi* 'he will make someone mad' (p. 132), *guna auguna bidhi pūchaba* 'the Lord will ask merit and demerit' (p. 15).

T. *tinhaht kathā suni lāgihi phikī* 'to them the story will appear insipid on hearing' (p. 7), *aba na tumhaht māyā niyarāi* 'Māyā will not come near you now' (p. 63), *jehi bana jāi rahaba raghurāi* 'in whichever forest Rāma will go and live' (p. 198).

N. *saba bilāya jāihi eka bārā* 'once all will disappear' (p. 1), *kaisē rahana kalinjara hōi* 'how will abode be (possible) in Kalinjar' (p. 23), *puni tō lai apanē ghara jaihai* 'then will take you and go to his place' (p. 41).

3rd pl.—*-ihē* only is found in J., it and others are found in T. ; for instance :

J. *tināṭi tōka jariht tēhi lāgi* 'with that all the three worlds will burn up' (p. 457).

T. *sunihahṭ sujana sarāhi subāni* 'the good people will hear it and admire it in good words' (p. 7), *dekhiaht rūpa nāma ādhīnā* '(they) will see the form under the name' (p. 14), *siya biyāhaba rāma* 'Rāma (honorific pl.) will marry Sitā' (p. 106); *-ihē* (*rākhiht*) is very uncommon.

NOTE 1.—In Tulst and Nūr Muhammad two or three instances of *-gē* futures, e.g., *pūrahugē* (T. pp. 62, 384), *karahugē* (T. pp. 330, 378), are found but they are borrowed forms.

NOTE 2.—The note under § 306 showing **ex + i > jax** does not operate in Early Awadhi, e.g., *deikhaũ* (T p. 28 line 19). Sometimes the *-i* of the termination is elided, e.g., *deikhaũ*, *d̥haũ* (J. p. 403).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

### § 306.

Lmp.	sg.	pl.
1st	-iñAũ ( <i>dekhiñAũ</i> )	-ibax ( <i>dekhibax</i> ) -ib ( <i>derkhib</i> )
2nd	-iñAi ( <i>dekhiñAi</i> )	-iñAu ( <i>dekhiñAu</i> )
3rd	-ix ( <i>derkhix</i> )	-iñAĩ ( <i>dekhiñAĩ</i> )

(a) There is a dialectal variation with regard to **-ñ-** or **-b-** forms. Except in the tracts bordering on Kanauji [where **-iñAĩ** (*dekhiñAĩ*) form is found with 1st plural also, e.g., West Unao], the Western dialects, viz., Lmp., S., L., U., F. and Bgh. have **-b-** forms only for the 1st plur. In the Central dialects, viz., B., Br. and R., the **-b-** forms are creeping into the second person also. In the Eastern dialects (G., Fy., Sl., P., A., M.) **-b-** forms are found in the 1st and 2nd persons regularly, **-ñ-** forms being found only in the 3rd person.

1st pl.—S., L., U. and F., **-Ab**, **-ibex** (*derkhAb*, *dekhibex*), Bgh. *derkhib*, *derkhAb*, *dekhobai*, Br. and R. **-Ab**, B. **-obai** (*dekhobai*), G. **-Ab** commoner than **-obai**, Fy. **-Ab** or **-obai** and after **-ax** roots **-ub** (*axub*, *bataxub*), Sl. **-Ab** (and **-ub** after **-ax** roots only), L. **-Ab**, so also A. and M.

2nd sg.—Br. and R. **-ibex**, G. **-obex** (*dekhobex*), Bgh. *dekhiñes*; 2nd pl.—B., Br. and R. have **-iñAu**, so also has Gondia largely and S.W. Sultanpur and Fyzahad, else Fy. **-box**, **-bao**, Sl. **-bjax** P., A., M. **-bax**, **-ibax**, *box*, S.E.G. **-box**.

3rd sg.—R. **-ex** (*derkhex*), so also Fy., Sl., A., M., P. and S. W. Sl. have **ix** (*derkhix*), Bgh. *derkhix*.

3rd pl.—Br. **-iñõz** (*dekhiñõz*); Fy., Sl. and other Eastern dialects **-iñAĩ** (*dekhiñAĩ*).

NOTE.—In the case of roots **dez** 'to give' and **lez** 'to take', the initial -l of **-iḥāṭ**, **-iḥāi**, **-iḥāu**, **-iḥāṭ**, is combined with **-ex**, **ex+i** thus resulting in **-jāz**, e.g., **djāzḥāṭ**, **djāzḥāi**, **djāzḥāu**, **djāzḥāṭ**.

(b) This tense simply refers to a future action, e.g., **ham miṭḥaziz khaibaz** 'we shall eat sweetmeats'. As compared with this, the Fut. Imperfect Ind. refers to an action which will be in the process of being done (**mai miṭḥaziz kharṭi hoḥāṭ** 'I shall be eating sweetmeats' and the Fut. Perfect Indic. to an action which will have been completed (**mai miṭḥaziz kharer hoḥāṭ** 'I shall have eaten sweetmeats'). In the case of verbs indicating continuous action, this tense indicates merely the beginning of the action, e.g., **jāb tum āḥāu tāb ḥam paṭḥibaz** 'when you come, I shall read', i.e., I shall begin reading after your arrival. The tense can be used conjunctively also (**jā āḥāu tāu dekhiḥāu** 'if you will come, then you will see'). As such it has a little more probability of the action than in the case of the conjunctive sense indicated by the Past tense [vide § 304 (b)].

### C. ORIGIN

§ 307. The Future Indicative of Awadhi is based on the ancient future (*ṭr*) and on the *ṭavya* participle, the *h*-forms going back to the former while *-b-* to the latter. The development of *-sy-*, as *-ss-* and *-s-* > *-h-* appears to be rather rapid, considering that *-s-* is generally retained in Mod. IA. But the sounds in a suffix might have had a different treatment.

All the dialects of Awadhi have the *-b-* form at least in the 1st pl., the more we proceed to the East, the more we find the *-b-* forms in use. These have a great variety; *-ibā*, *-ib*, *ibē*, *-ibai* etc. all of which may not be strictly derivable from *ṭavya* (*itavya*): *-abba*, *-iabba*; it appears that the dialects after adopting this participle to indicate the future

have developed it individually, so that now in Mirzapur **-box** forms are used with the 1st person and **-bex** with the second person. No dialects of Modern Awadhi use **-b-** forms in the 3rd person, but in Early Awadhi, these are found optionally with all the persons and numbers. The 3rd sg. form in **-ī** should be connected with **-īhi > ii**.

### Imperative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 308. The following are the terminations :

	sg.	pl.
1st	-aū, -ō	
2nd	-u, -a, -asi -ahi	-ahu -ō
3rd	-au, -ao, -ai	-ahī

1st sg.—**aū** is found in all the three texts while **-ō** only in Nūr Muhammad. For instance :

J. *kaū aba baṇḍāsa kaḥa jāū* 'may I now go to an exile into the forest?' (p. 90);

T. *āpu sarisa khōjōū kaḥa jāī* 'where should I go and seek one like myself' (p. 67);

N. *āpana auguna kāhu sunāvaū* 'how should I speak of my own demerits' (p. 84), *jñāna munda kimi kaḥō bakhānō* 'my knowledge is little, how should I describe in detail' (p. 15).

2nd sg.—**-u** forms are found in all the three texts; in Nūr Muhammad in a few cases we have **-a**; **-asi**, **-ahi** are found only in Tulsīdās. For instance :

J. *mohr yaha lōbha sunāu na māyā* 'do not speak to me of attractions and attachments' (p. 249);

T. *rāma-nāma muni-dīpa dharu* 'put the bejewelled lamp of the name of Rāma' (p. 14), *taba lagi janu kachū kaḥasi bahōrī* 'till then do not say anything again' (p. 171), *ḍēgi priyā pariharahi kubḥaū* 'my beloved, leave this ugly appearance soon' (p. 167).

N. *māru na chira bhāta mē lātā* 'do not strike thy foot in milk and rice' (p. 21), *taja mana cinta barhāva hulāsū* 'leave anxiety and increase gladness' (p. 12).

2nd pl.—all the texts have -*aḥu* forms, only in Nūr Muhammad -*ō* forms are found sometimes; for instance:

J. *dhāvana tahā paṭhārahu, dēhu lākha dasa rōka* 'send messengers there and give an amount of ten lakhs' (p. 223).

T. *māgahu āju jurāvahu chāfi* 'heg (them) to-day and cool your breast (heart)' (p. 166);

N. *hoi dayāla gauripati, puravahu kāja hamāra* 'O lord of Gauri, be compassionate and accomplish my business' (p. 32), *kai kirapā mohi pāra utārō* 'take pity and put me across' (p. 2).

3rd sg.—*aw* is found both in Jāyasi and Tulaidās while -*ai* only is found in Nūr Muhammad; -*ao* is a variant form of -*aw* in Jāyasi and -*ai* is sometimes found in Tulaidās. For instance:

J. *dahtū vaha rasa kō pāu ko nāhi* 'whether any one may get that tasty juice or not' (p. 179), *jāi parā jāhā pāo na thāhā* 'went and fell (there) where (he) may not obtain the bottom' (p. 525).

T. *kou nṛpa hōu kamahi kā hānī* 'any one may become a king, what have I to lose?' (p. 163), *jārai jōgu subhāu hamārā* 'may fate burn my habit' (p. 163).

N. *kā jānai sukha bhōga bhulānā* 'what may one who has forgotten (himself) in the enjoyment of happiness, know' (p. 11).

3rd pl.—We find only one or two examples in Nūr Muhammad: *guru jana sē yaha binatiya mōri, kōpa na mānaht bhāṭha sīkōri* 'this is our request to the elders, may they not show anger and frown' (p. 4).

NOTE.—The passive imperative is found considerably used in all the texts, particularly with a first person plural subject [see § 347 (c)].



The use of this tense is exactly like that of the Imperative of Sanskrit where 'order' is denoted by a form of the second person and 'permission' is sought by a form of the other two persons.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 309. The forms of the Imperative are the same as of the Present Indicative, but there is a distinction from the latter in the 2nd person singular, e.g., in Imp. Pres. Ind. **derkhai**, Imperative **derkhu**, Pres. Ind. **jaxi**, Imperative **jaz**. The termination of the 2nd sg. here being **-u** (and zero in the case of **-ax -ex -ox** roots) while in the Pres. Ind. it is **-ai** (and **-i** in the case of **-ax, -ex, -ox** roots). Besides G. 3rd sg. Imp. is **-au** (**derkhau**). This difference of the termination warrants a separate treatment of the Imperative.

The Western dialects and B. and G. have **-u** (and zero) like Imp., R. and Br. have zero (**derkh, jaz**) in all roots, while the Eastern dialects do not possess a 2nd person singular and hence do not show any difference from the Pres. Indic. Bgh. has **derkhas** sg. and **derkhab** pl. The exact Imperative sense is expressed only in the 2nd person, e.g., **tui jaz** 'go', **bhārgau** 'run away'. In other persons it has a permissive sense, e.g., **mai karai** 'let me do', **ux karai** 'let him do'.

NOTE.—As shown above (Part I § 160) the Imperative is distinguished from the Present Indic. by a difference in tone also.

## C. ORIGIN

§ 310. The Imperative shows a difference from the Present Indicative only in the 2nd pers. sing. and 3rd pers. sg. The 2nd sg. form with zero termination goes back to **-a** (**gaccha** etc.) which lost its pronunciation sometime in late MIA. The **-u** termination which occurs in Sindhi as well (see Bloch p. 238) cannot go back to MIA. **-asu** (**kahasu**), nor can it be said that the ancient **-u** (**kuru, tṛṇu**) has survived; we find that Apabhraṃśa has it (e.g., **uaru**, p. 25, Bhavisayatta

*kaḥā* G. O. S). Hoernle (p. 338) sees it as 'perhaps a corruption of -a'! The 3rd sg. -*an* attested by a dialect in Modern Awadhi also as well as by Bhājpurī, goes back regularly to -*atu* (*gaṇchatu*). Other forms go back to the Present Indicative which began to replace the forms of the Imperative as early as the earliest MIA.

### Future Imperative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 311. The use of this tense as shown in § 312 is different from the ordinary Imperative. The following are the terminations :

	sg.	pl.
2nd	- <i>esu</i>	- <i>ehu</i>

For instance :

J. *au mukha saṭṭa buca kuhesu parēvā* 'O bird, then thou wilt say words with (thy) mouth' (p. 495), *āehu caḍḍhi so gagana puni sātā* 'then you will come by climbing up the seven skies' (p. 435);

T. *tinhaṭṭ dekhāi dihesu tat sītā* 'to them thou wilt show Sītā' (p. 337), *karehu so jatana bibēka bicārī* 'you will have recourse to that means after a mature consideration' (p. 27);

N. *nisu mō rākhahu bhōrē āehu, dhirja dharehu jaisō phala pāehu* 'put it at night and then you will come early in the morning, and have consolation with whatever fruit you will get' (p. 17).

NOTE.—As shown under § 312 the terminations of this tense are not found with roots based on the past participle (e.g., *kōḍahu* and not *bhaahu*)

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 312. This indicates an imperative of a distant future as compared with the ordinary Imperative, e.g., *dekhau* 'see!' *dekhau* 'see—future'. The forms in Lakhimpurī are :

	sg.	pl.
2nd person	<b>-ex (derkhex)</b>	<b>-eu (derkheu)</b>

As such they do not appear to differ from the Past Indicative, (cf. § 304). But two points should be noted:— (1) that out of the two forms that we have in Lakhimpur for the Past Indic. in 2nd pers. sing., viz., **-ex** and **-isj**, only one, i.e., in **-ex**, is employed for the Future Imperative, the other one in **-isj** is never so used; and (2) with roots that have separate forms for the Present and the Past [§ 297 (z)] the Future Imperative has its terminations after the Present root, e.g., **jax-** Present, **gA-** Past; now **jaxeu** 'go—Future Imperative', **gAeu** 'went—Past Indicative'. Similarly **bozeu** 'be—Future Imperative', **bhAeu** 'were—Past Indicative'.

This difference warrants a separate treatment of this tense. All the dialects possess this tense. They agree in not employing the **-isj** or its corresponding form in **-es**, **-osj** etc. for indicating the Future Imperative and in adding the terminations after the root of the Present where a difference of roots exists. A specimen from Gonda (Balrampur) has two forms in **-isj** (**axisj**, **kisj**). Standard Hindi expresses the sense of this tense by what appears to be the verbal noun, e.g., **tum derkhna** 'you will see'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 313. The Future Imperative is found only with reference to the 2nd pers. sg. and pl. Its sense is connoted by the infinitive in W. Hindi (e.g., **tum jainaz** 'you will go') and by the forms derivable from the Future Indicative, in Bengālī, Maithilī and Bhōjpurī (Chatterji § 651). Awadhī, however, has special terminations—sg. **ex**, **esu**; **isj**, pl. **-eu**, **eſu**. These appear to go back to the **-aya > ɛ**, conjugation of MIA in the Imperative, examples of which are quoted by Pischel (pp. 331—32).

## Past Conditional

## A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 314. The Imperfect Participle is used to denote this tense and the use is like that in Modern Awadhi (§ 315). The participle is, however, inflected sometimes. The following terminations, thus, after the root, result :

	sg.	pl.
1st	-ateñ, -atiñ	
2nd	—	-atehu
3rd	-teu	—

1st sg.—*ateñ* is found in all the texts, only in Nūr Muhammad *-atiñ* is sometimes found with a subject in the feminine gender, e.g.,

J. *anu rāñi kañ rahateñ rādhā* 'O queen! very gladly would I have remained (here)' (p. 405);

T. *jañ janateñ binu bhāṣa bhūbi bhāñ* 'had I known, brothers, that the Earth is devoid of heroes' (p. 108);

N. *jō mat cahateñ āpana nāñ* 'if I had wanted my fame' (p. 25), *nā tō cērī hōtiñ tērī* 'or else, I (fem.) would have become thy servant' (p. 79).

2nd pl.—the forms have been found only in Tulaidās : *jañ tumha avatehu muni kī nāñ* 'had you come like an ascetic' (p. 120).

3rd sg.—the simple Imperfect participle (masculine or feminine) is used in all the texts but J. in addition has *-teu* forms and N. *-tai*. For instance :

J. *kusala hōta jau janama na hōtā* 'It would have been well, if there had been no birth' (p. 314), *dhāñ siṅgha baru khāteu mārī* 'it would have been better, if a lion had attacked and eaten me up' (p. 382);

T. *hōta janama na bharata kō* 'if there had been no birth of Bharata' (p. 284), *jañ pai jia na hōti kuṣilāñ* 'if there had been no wickedness in the heart' (p. 231);

N. *hōtai mukuta hamāra* 'there would have been my deliverance' (p. 16), *mō mahā tā mukha lēta basērā* 'her face would have resided (for some time) in me' (p. 11), *ātamajā jō hōta ēka* 'if there had been a daughter' (p. 16), *mana au prāna dōu hara lēti* 'she would have snatched away both life and heart' (p. 18).

NOTE.—The uninflected participle can be used with any person, e.g., *Jāyasi: kas tasi rahati dhi jasa bāri* (Padmāvatī says) 'or I would have remained just I was in childhood' (p. 382).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 315. Lmp.

	sg.	pl.
1st	-otiū (dekhotiū)	-oten (dekhoten), -itj (derkhitj)
2nd	-Atj (derkhatj)	-otiu (dekhotiu)
3rd	-Atj (derkhatj)	-etīx (dekhotīx)

The following are the variations in the districts :

1st sg.—The Western dialects as well as B. agree with Lmp., R. and Br. have -otū (dekhotū), Bgh. masc. *dekhotjehū*, fem. *dekhotihū*.

1st pl.—the final -j of -itj is not found in the Eastern dialects except in G., B. has -otin for -oten, particularly in Eastern tracts ; Bgh. masc. *dekhotjen*, fem. *dekhotin*.

2nd sg.—P., Br. and R. -otex (dekhotex), G. -otis (dekhotis), Bgh. masc. *dekhotjesi*, fem. *dekhotisi*.

2nd pl.—oteu (dekhoteu) in Fy., G. (except West), P. and Br. ; otjx (dekhotjx) in Sl., otux (dekhotux) in R. ; Bgh. masc. *dekhotjēsi*, fem. *dekhotiēsi*.

3rd sg.—At (derkhat) in Br., R., Fy., S., P., G., A. and M. Fy. distinguishes between masc. -At and fem. -Atj ; Bgh. masc. *dekhotjai*, fem. *dekhotjiz*.

3rd pl.—etēx (dekhotex) in R., -otex (dekhotex) in G. (except West) ; Fy., Sl. P., A., M., -oten (dekhoten) or

-ətin (dekhotin). Fy. distinguishes between masc. -otex and fem. -otĩx (dekhotĩx), Bgh. masc. dekhətjen, fem. dekhotin.

(a) This tense denotes (in a conditional or purpose clause) an action which might have taken place in the past but which never did come off, e.g., *jo mai ghar se arth bager caldertiũ tau hiñx bakhət par passũjartiũ* 'had I started at eight from my house, I would have been here in time', *tum ais karətiũ ki ham kar hũa sũ tarkai ko maukar. miljartĩ* 'you should have acted in a manner that I should have got an opportunity to slip off from there'.

Compared with the Past Imperfect Conditional (§ 325) and Past Perfect Conditional (§ 331) this tense does not refer to the aspect of the incompleteness or completion of the act, but simply denotes that it did not take place.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 316. The Past Conditional in Awadhi, like other Mod. IA. is based on the Imperfect participle. In some forms the enclitic personal terminations, which appear in the past tense also, are found incorporated while in others, they are not used. Awadhi does not present any special feature here.

## Present Imperfect Indicative

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 317. The following instances have been noted :—

*Jāyasi: haũ jānati haũ* 'I know' (p. 508), *prāna mukula aba hũta hai* 'life-breath is becoming free now' (p. 561), *khana eka mahā cāhata haht dhāi* 'in a moment, they want to make an attack' (p. 605).

NOTE.—In *aba hasn hāri karasi has hũ hāri* 'how now, overcome thou sayest (dost), O Hari' (p. 551), the auxiliary has been combined with the Present Indicative form.

*Tulsi: nifi dharma nat jānata ahaũ* 'I know my duty according to polity' (p. 379), *nisi dinu dēva jāpata haũ*

*jēhi* 'O lord, on whom you meditate day and night' (p. 296), *jānati hahu basa nāhu hamārē* 'you know that the lord is in your control' (p. 163), *mānahā mōri karata hahē nindā* 'methinks (they) are speaking ill of me' (p. 316), *kou kaha calana cakata hahē ājū* 'somebody said, they are going to-day' (p. 144), *prasna karata mana sakucata ahañ* 'he is hesitating to ask' (p. 456).

Nūr Mohammad: *rōnta ahañ bircha para, mitra chāṛi gā pāsa* 'I am lamenting on the tree, the friend has left me' (p. 85), *jēhi nisa dina sumirata hai kōū* 'if any one remembers any one, day and night' (p. 75), *mitra jo hat karatāra kō, marata nahī hat sōi* 'those who are friends of God, do not die' (p. 54).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 318. For instance in Lakhimpur:

sg.

pl.

1st *derkhatj hañ* *derkhiti hai* or *derkhiti han*

2nd *derkhatj hai* m. *derkhatj hau* f. *dekhotiz hau*

3rd *derkhatj hai* m. *derkhatj hañ* f. *dekhotiz hañ*

(a) This tense refers to an action which is taking place in the Present and has displaced the Pres. Indic. entirely in common speech. The auxiliary is uttered with much less emphasis than the principal verb, and hence appears to have lost ground in several cases. For instance:

Limp. *tum dekhottu naziz hiñ kar hoi gar* 'you do not see what has happened here' where *dekhottu* stands for *dekhotiz hau*; Fatehpur: *Abai tum naññiz janteo* 'till now you do not know', Gonda: *ham dññottiz nazññiz chāññiz saktij* 'I cannot wash *dññōñ*', *ham soñññ biraññaz jaññitij* 'I know simple *Birahā* (songs)', U. *mai naññiz lai saktiñ* 'I cannot take', Allahabad: *ham kuchñ naziz karoten* 'I am doing nothing'. In all these instances the auxiliary has very much modified itself, so that the forms appear as if they were of the Past Conditional.

## Past Imperfect Indicative

## A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 319. Instances of this tense are much fewer than those of the Present Imperfect Indicative. For example :

Jāyāsī : *śvata ahā juhā sukha sākā* 'I was sleeping there where (one finds) branches of happiness' (p. 225).

Tulsī : *sundara suta janamata bhat dū* 'they also were delivered of handsome sons' (p. 85), *mātha nāi pūchata asa bhayaū* 'having bowed down, he began to ask' (p. 324), *rahē kahāvata parama birāgī* 'he was called a great hermit' (p. 146).

NOTE.—Greaves (Grammar of the Rāmāyana, p. 33) makes a distinction between the Imperfect Participle with  $\sqrt{rah-}$  which he calls Imperfect Past and the Imperfect Participle with  $\sqrt{bha-}$  which is termed by him as Inceptive Imperfect. But no such distinction appears to be justified.  $\sqrt{bha-}$  is combined in exactly the same sense as  $\sqrt{rah-}$  and is found so used in Bihārī languages even to-day. The usage in Rāmāyana only shows that both the roots were employed to make the Past Imperfect.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 320. This tense refers to an action which was being done in the past, the imperfection being emphasised, e.g., *mai bazarai jati rahiāū* 'I was going to the Bazar' indicates that the action of going was continuing. The forms, for instance, in Lmp., are :

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhatj rahiāū	derkhitj rahiāi or derkhitj rahiān
2nd	derkhatj rahiāi	m. derkhatj rahiān f. dekhotix rahiān
3rd	derkhatj rahiāi	m. derkhatj rahiāĩ f. dekhotix rahiāĩ

(a) In Unao and Fatehpur where we have *h-* forms of the auxiliary for the past, they are modified generally, e.g.,



**F. pandarāṣi rupajaz kai cixj milat tix** 'the article was obtainable for fifteen rupees', **kheletix tīx** '(the girls) were playing', **tum kaṣṭāx ger tjoz** 'where had you been?', **bixāṣi ke khwaxj kaz ger ten** 'I had gone in quest of the marriage (of my son)'.

### Future Imperfect Indicative

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 321. This refers to an action which will be in the state of duration at some particular time. The forms, for instance, in Lakhimpurī are :

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhatj hoṣṭāṁ	derkhitj hoibax or derkhatj hoibax
2nd	derkhatj horix	m. derkhatj hoṣṭāu f. dekhotix hoṣṭāu
3rd	derkhatj horix	m. derkhatj hoṣṭāṁ f. dekhotix hoṣṭāṁ

### Imperfect Imperative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 322. One instance of Present Imperfect Conjunctive is found in *calā jāta jāsa hōi baṣṭhi* 'as a traveller may be going' (N. p. 3).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 323. This is found only with the *raṣ-* root and emphasises the incompleteness of the action wanted to be done. For instance, Lmp. *tui derkhatj raṣu* '(thou) continue seeing', *tum derkhatj* (fin. *dekhotix*) *raṣāu* '(you) continue seeing'.

### Imperfect Future Imperative

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 324. This also emphasises the incompleteness of the action to be done, but with reference to distant future. For

instance *Lmp.*, *tui derkhatī rañex* 'thou wilt continue seeing', *tum derkhatī* (*fm. dekhotiz*) *rañeu* 'you will continue seeing'.

### Present Imperfect Conditional

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 325. This tense refers to the continuity of an action which did not happen. The forms, for instance, in *Lmp.*, are :

	sg.	pl.
1st	<i>derkhatī hortīū</i>	<i>derkhatī hortēn, derkhatī hortī</i>
2nd	<i>derkhatī hortī</i>	m. <i>derkhatī hortiu</i> , f. <i>dekhotiz hortiu</i>
3rd	<i>derkhatī hortī</i>	m. <i>derkhatī hortīz</i> , f. <i>dekhotiz hortī</i>

### Present Perfect Indicative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 326. The following instances have been noted :—

*Jāyasi : jō hai likhā so jāi na mēlā* 'what is ordained cannot be falsified' (p. 596), *jahā baithu hañ rān* 'where the king is sitting' (p. 588).

*Tulsi : taba lagi baitha ahañ bañ chāñ* 'till then I am sitting in the shade of the banyan tree' (p. 27), *thakita hōñ saba lōga lugāi* 'all men and women become stupefied' (p. 89).

*Nūr Muhammad : hama tuma rākhā hai tehi nāñ* 'he has named us and you' (p. 55), *jāni parata rājā sravana, parī na hai yuka bōla* 'it appears that this word has not reached the king's ears' (p. 25), *āe suhāsa banē hañ cārē* 'he came and smilingly became a disciple' (p. 2).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 327. The forms in *Lakhimpurī*, for instance, are:

	sg.	pl.
1st	derkhez haũ derkheũ hai	derkhez han derkhen hai
2nd	derkhez hai derkhisj hai	derkhez hau derkhenj hai
3rd	derkhisj hai	derkhenj hai
1st	maraz (f. mariz) haũ mareũ (f. mariũ) hai	maraz (f. mariz) han maren hai
2nd	maraz (f. mariz) hai marez hai	maraz (f. mariz) hau mareu (f. mariu) hai
3rd	maraz (f. mariz) hai	maraz (f. mariz) haĩ

(a) The difference between this tense and the Past Indicative lies in the use. This refers to an action the effect of which lasts up to the present while the Past Indicative refers to an action which has no effect at present, e.g., **mai kuĩ me girj gaz haũ** 'I have fallen into the well' i.e., I am still there, while **mai kuĩ me girj gaẽũ** refers to the momentary action of falling but does not show that I am still there. Compared with the Past Perfect Indicative this tense refers to the recent past while the other to the remote past, e.g., **mai gũrwai gawaz haũ** 'I have gone to the village' refers to nearer past than **mai gũrwai gawaz raĩhaũ** 'I had gone to the village'.

### Past Perfect Indicative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 328. The instances are very rare:

Jāyāsī: *jaba lagi guru mat ahā na cīnhā* 'as long as I had not recognised my teacher' (p. 540), *deũ marana mīcu haĩ likhī* 'I have come to die, death was ordained' (p. 121), *ohī dhanukha bēdhā huta rāhū* 'Rāhu had been pierced by that very bow' (p. 171), *dharoĩ saraga milē huta dōũ* 'the Earth and the sky both were united' (p. 474).

Tulsī: *gaĩ rahi* 'she had gone', *gaẽ rahē* 'they had gone', *gaĩ hī* 'she had gone' (p. 379).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 329. As shown above (§ 297 note 1) the uninflected forms (-ax, -iz, -ex) of the Perfect Participle are accompanied by the regular auxiliaries of the various persons and the inflected forms (-eū, -iū, iu etc.) by the 3rd person eg. (hai and its equivalents aīai, bai in the Present Perfect Indicative and raīai, raīax in the Past Perfect Indicative).

As compared with the Past Indicative, the effect of the action denoted by the Past Perfect Indicative lasts beyond the time when the action took place. Moreover, the Past Indicative refers to nearer past than the Past Perfect Indicative, e.g., of mai gārwai gajēū 'I went to the village', and mai gārwai gawax raīaū 'I had gone to the village', the latter refers to remote past.

NOTE.—Unlike English Past Perfect (e.g., I had gone) the Awadhi Past Perfect does not require comparison with another past verb.

## Future Perfect Indicative

### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 330. This tense refers to an action which will be necessarily completed by some particular time in the future, e.g., jalax tum ham kar bolaxwai aiīau talax ham roxti khaxi cukex hoibax 'I shall have taken my meal before you will come to call me'. It also sometimes is used to denote a possible but uncertain action of the past, e.g., kaxiīi kax tum iz kursix par baiṭhex raīau? hāx baiṭhex hoibax 'did you sit on this chair yesterday?' 'Yes, I may have sat (on it)'.

## Perfect Imperative

§ 331. This emphasises the completeness of the action wanted to be done, e.g., tui dezkhex raīu, 'you continue in the state of having seen.'

### Perfect Future Imperative

§ 332. As compared to the Perfect Imperative this tense refers to distant future, e.g., *tui derkhez rāflex* 'thou wilt continue in the state of having seen'.

### Past Perfect Conditional

§ 333. This tense refers to a conditional completed action in the past which did not occur, e.g., *jo mai sabai kitāzbai parflex hortiū, tau aij cain karti hortiū* 'had I completed reading all the books, I should have been enjoying this day'. The forms in Lakhimpurī, for instance, are:

	sg.	pl.
1st	<i>derkhez hortiū</i>	<i>derkhez hoten, derkhen hoxitj</i>
2nd	<i>derkhez hoxitj</i>	<i>derkhez hotiu</i>
3rd	<i>derkhez hoxitj, derkhisj hoxitj</i>	<i>derkhez hoxitj</i>

### C. ORIGIN

§ 334. The periphrastic tenses of Awadhi are formed by combining the Imperfect or the Perfect participle with the various tenses of the auxiliary verb and do not present any peculiarity historically. Their use in Early Awadhi is comparatively rare, but with the progress of the language, greater and greater display of these tenses is found.

### The Absolutive

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 335. The Absolutive in Early Awadhi ends in *-i*, only about half a dozen instances in Nūr Muhammad show *-a* for *-i*. This *-a* was merely orthographic. The form is generally used without any postposition; wherever a postposition is present, Jāyasl has *kai*, Tulasl *kai* generally and sometimes *kara* and *kari*, Nūr Muhammad *kai*, *kā*. For instance:

Jāyaś : *augāhi* 'having dived deep' (p. 2), *ṣūṣi* 'having broken' (p. 19), *mili kai* 'having united' (p. 60).

Tulsi : *chāri* 'having left' (p. 88), *jāni*, 'having known' (p. 191), *sudhāri kai* 'having corrected' (p. 301), *jāi kara* 'having gone' (p. 338), *khāi kari* 'having eaten' (p. 399).

Nūr Muhammad : *samujhi* 'having understood' (p. 3), *cuni* 'having picked' (p. 5), *chāra* 'having left' (p. 4), *samhāri kai* 'having arranged' (p. 4), *thira kē* 'attentively' (p. 37).

The use of the absolutive is the same as in Modern Awadhi.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 336. The Absolutive in Lakhimpurī is formed by adding *-i* to a root ending in a consonant (e.g., *derkhij*, *hāsij*) and *-i* to a root ending in a vowel (e.g., *jazi*, *khazi*). The form thus arrived at is then used with *ke* or *kai* or *-kaiṣṭār*, e.g., *derkhij ke* 'having seen', *hāsij kai* 'having laughed', *jazi ke* 'having gone', *lai kai* 'having taken', *uz sab din hāsij kai bart karti hai* 'he always talks after smiling, i.e., after having smiled'.

S., L., U., B., Br., R., G. and P. have the *-i* sound distinctively in this form, F., Fy., Sl., A., M. and Bgh. appear to drop it sometimes after roots ending in a consonant (e.g., F. *niharr kai* 'having seen', Fy. *hās ke* 'having laughed', Sl. *derkh ke* 'having seen', A. *utarr kai* 'having brought down', M. *bāxt ke* 'having divided') but retain it always after roots ending in a vowel. The *-i* is sometimes pronounced as *-e* and generally *-ja* in the Eastern dialects. The elision of intervocalic *-r-* is witnessed in certain forms of the Absolutive in the Eastern dialects, Lmp. *dḥari*, B. *dḥai* 'having put', Lmp. *bhari*, Sl. *bhai* 'having filled, i.e., full', Lmp. *qazri*, Fy. *qazi* 'having thrown' [Compare Chatterji : *Origin and Development of Bengali*, p. 157 (1)]. The postposition employed by the Eastern dialects is *ke* or

**kai.** **kaiñāx** is restricted to Lmp., S. and B. **kai** is very common.

NOTE.—(1) The absolutive (without the postposition) is used to form compound verbs also (vide § 355).

(2) **kar-** 'to do', **der-** 'to give' and **ler-** 'to take' have their absolutive as **kai**, **dai**, **lai** respectively.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 337. The Absolutive of Awadhi is based on the OIA. -ya, MIA. -ia, resulting in Awadhi as -i > ĩ > Zero. In certain usages (e.g., in compound verbs where it is compounded with *sakab*, *pāwab*, *milab*, to show ability or capacity to do an action) the absolutive stands for the old infinitive (Skt. -tum, MIA. -ium) and the probability is that in such cases it has been derived from the ancient infinitive -ium, -iā, -i.<sup>1</sup>

## The Verbal Noun

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 338. The Verbal noun in Early Awadhi has two forms viz., (a) -ana, (b) -aba both of which are found in the texts. The direct sometimes ends in -u; and the oblique from these is found in -anā and -abā. An additional oblique form in -ai is also found.

The use of the verbal noun is the same as in Modern Awadhi. For instance:

Jāyasī: here we have very few instances of the direct form the oblique ends in -ai—*kita āuna puni apanē kāthā* 'how will return be within our power' (p. 96), *tā kara ihai jo khānā piyanā, saba kahā dēi bhuguti au jianā* 'that he gives enjoyment and life to everyone in his meal and drink' (p. 7); *dīnhesi sravana sunai kahā bayanā* 'He gave ears to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my paper on 'The Verb in the Rāmāyana', Allahabad University Studies, Vol. II, p. 235.

hear word' (p. 12), *pūjai jāi sakala samsārū* 'the whole world goes to worship' (p. 360).

Tulsi: *karana cahatī raghupati guna-gāhā* 'I want to make a narration of the merits of the lord of the Raghus' (p. 7), *calē saṅga himavantu taba pahūcāvana ati hētū* 'then Himālaya started to send them off with great regard' (p. 49), *milaba hamāra bhulāba nija kahahu ta hamahī na khōri* 'I shall not be at fault if you mention my meeting or your missing (the way)' (p. 73); *fūṣa cāpa nahī jurihī risānē* 'the broken bow will never be fit by being angry' (p. 118), *hāsibē jōga hāsē nahī khōri* 'it is fit to be laughed at, there is no evil in laughing' (p. 7), *ṭrai lāga* 'began to break' (p. 349), *jarai na pāvā* 'could not burn' (p. 471), *calai kara* 'of going' (p. 228).

Nūr Muhammad: *birtha khāba sōiba au jivana, piunā jivanā lōhu ka pivana* 'eating, sleeping and life are useless, drinking and eating is (merely) drinking blood' (p. 35), *jāgaba mohī bairī bhayeu* 'awakening has become an enemy to me' (p. 48); *bāta sunai kahā saravana dīnhā* 'He has given ears to hear' (p. 1); *kahai likhai ūpara cīta dīnhā* 'I concentrated my mind on saying and writing' (p. 4).

NOTE. 1.—In Nūr Muhammad one form *roibō* 'weeping' ends in *-ōbō* (p. 26).

NOTE. 2.—In Tulsidas there are a few feminine forms of the verbal noun ending in *-ani*, e.g., *avatōhani bōlani milani prīti parāpara hāsa* 'their manner of looking, speaking, and meeting as well as their mutual affection and laughs' (p. 24).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 339. There are two cases of this—the direct and the oblique. The direct in Lakhtnarpurī ends in *-abq* (*dekhbabq* 'seeing'), *-bq* (*jāibq* 'going', *hozbq* 'becoming'), or *-wabq* (*ba jāiwabq* 'striking the musical instrument'). All the dialects have this form in the direct, only R., Br., B., Fy. and other Eastern dialects generally have *-ubq* instead of



**-wabq** (e.g., **rorubq** 'weeping', **lutazubq** 'squandering'); U. has forms in **-An** (**derkhan**) also. The usage is found in such sentences as: F. **un kar kharbq nirk nafīz largat** 'eating does not appear good to him', Lmp. **kharbq kar perṭp bfiarabq hai** 'it is not eating, it is merely filling the stomach'.

The oblique in Lmp. ends in **-Ai** (**derkhai**), **-i** (**jai**, **hozi**), or **-wai** (**ba jarwai**). All the dialects (except portions of Lucknow, Unao, Barabanki and Fatchpur) have this form, only in the Eastern dialects generally **-i** is pronounced as **ja** and sometimes **-e**. In the tracts mentioned above an oblique in **-iber** (**dekhiber**, **jaiber**, **ba jariber**) is found and on the border line of Kanaujī a form in **-An** (**derkhan**, **jain**, **horn**, **ba jarwan**) is used.

(a) The oblique is used without a postposition to show a purpose, e.g., **meḥaruar qhūṛṭai caliz** 'the woman started for the purpose of searching'. It is also used without a postposition to form compound verbs (*vide* § 349). It can take the various postpositions like any other noun, in order to express the various case-relations, e.g., **unkar paṛṭai eq kar matlabq** 'what business has he with reading', **ham kar kuchq khari ko dezu** 'give me something to eat', **pazniz barsai ko bakhata arwar** 'the time of raining has arrived', in **larikar derkhai sunai mo nirk hai** 'this boy is good in seeing and hearing (i.e., to all reports and appearances)', **khari khaxtir roṭiz laxor** 'bring loaves for eating'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 340. The Verbal Noun has forms in (a) **-n**, (b) **-b** and in (c) **-ai**. The **-n** forms go back to the suffix **-ana** (*lyuṭ*). Hoernle derives the suffix from **-aniyar** and is supported in his view by Kellogg. I should, however, agree with Beames in deriving it from *lyuṭ*; it sometimes indicates a purpose, a sense which was expressed by the verbal noun

in OIA also, and not by *-aniyar*. The *-b* forms should, like the future, be derived from *-itavya*. The transition of the meaning from 'to be done', for instance, to 'to do' is one more instance of a passive form losing its passive sense and so in effect becoming active.

Forms in *-ai* which are always used in the oblique case appear to be connected with the ancient infinitive of the causative roots, e.g., *karāiuth* > *karāiñ* > *karai*.<sup>1</sup>

### The Noun of Agency

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 341. The commonest forms end in *-vāra* (fm. *-vāri*) and *-hāra* (fm. *-hāri*), e.g.,

Tulsi: *rakhanārē* 'protectors', *mēḷana-hāra* 'destroyer', *kōṭi manōja kajāvani-hārē* 'one who puts to shame crores of cupids' (p. 203);

Nūr Muhammad: *nirāṣamahāra aghāi* 'the man who looks is satisfied' (p. 8), *phūlanahū tā ṣḥanavāri* 'more beautiful than the flowers' (p. 8).

Other forms end in *-ana* (fm. *-ani*), e.g., *karana* 'one who captivates', *karani*. These are mostly found in Tulsidās.

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 342. The most general form in all the dialects is in *-aijāz*, *-waijāz* (*dekhaijāz* 'one who sees', *khawaijāz* 'one who eats'). Besides in Lmp. and P. a form in *-āḥāḥāz* (fm. *-āḥāḥāriz* or *āḥāḥārij*) is found sometimes, e.g., *jāḥāḥāz* 'one who goes, i.e., is about to go'; fem. *jāḥāḥāriz*. The *-ez* roots (*dez*, *lez*) have a form in *-wāz* found in Lmp., S. and B., e.g., *dewāz* 'one who gives', *lewāz* 'one who takes'). A form made by adding *-wāzāz* to the oblique of the verbal noun (*-ai*) is reported from R., G. and P., e.g., *bhārai wāzāz* 'one who fills', *karā wāzāz*

<sup>1</sup> Prof Chatterji, however, sees phonetic difficulty in this derivation. Grierson thinks this to be derived as the oblique of the absolutiva.

'one who does'. This appears to be made on the analogy of standard Hindi *bhārnex wārlax*, *kārnex wārlax*.

The noun of agency has a shade of the future time of the action denoted by it, e.g., *koziṛ saḥār jawaījāz hozi tau bozlai* 'if there be anyone going to the city, let him speak out'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 343. The Noun of Agency has several forms of which *-aijāz* is most common in Modern and *-vāra* in Early Awadhī. The *-aijāz* forms appear to be connected with the ancient noun of agency in *-tr* + the pleonastic affix *-ka*, e.g., *paṣṭhatṛkaḥ* : *parḥai-ṣ* : *parḥai-ā* : *paṣṭhaijāz* [see Hoernle (p. 149) who sees it as *āv* + *aiyā*]. The *-vāra*, *wārl* forms are all combinations of the verbal noun with *pālakaḥ* and the *-anahāra*, *-anahāra*, *-anīhāra* forms are the verbal noun in *-na* + *dhārakaḥ*. Form in *-ana*, denoting the noun of agency, are *ardha-tatsama* forms, corresponding with *kartari lyuṣ*.

## Phonetic Rules for Conjugation

### A. EARLY AWADHĪ

§ 344. I have found no instances of the operation of rules (a), (b), (c) under § 345, in Early Awadhī. Other rules are illustrated by the following instances :

(d) *Jāyāsī* : *paṣṭhavā* (p. 16), *niarā-v-ā* (p. 40).

*Tulsi* : *cita-v-ā* (p. 28, line 22), *pā-v-ā*, *janā-v-ā* (p. 28, line 20).

*Nūr Muhammad* : *calā-v-ā*, *pā-v-ā* (p. 2, line 16).

(e) *wa* > *u*, e.g.,

*Jāyāsī* : *bina-uba* (p. 15), *pā-ub*, *āubi* (p. 97).

*Tulsi* : *pā-uba* (p. 46, line 17), *ā-uba* (p. 74, line 19).

*Nūr Muhammad* : *pā-uba* (p. 57, line 16).

(f) *Jāyāsī* : *khā-ba* (p. 247), *dā-ba* (p. 76), *hā-ba* (p. 254).

Tulsi : *jā-ba* (p. 57, line 16), *dā-na* (p. 168, line 12),  
*hā-ba*, (p. 67), line 12 ;

Nūr Muhammad : *jā-ba* (p. 57, l. 13) *ā-ba* (p. 31, l. 18),  
*hā-bai* (p. 35, l. 16).

NOTE.—In several instances *-i* appears as *-ya*, *i* as *-yā* (*jāsi* : *jāya*, *jāsi* : *jāyā*) and *ē* as *-ye* or *-ya* particularly after vowels (*jagāhi*, *pāyā*).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 345. (a) All roots ending in *-n*, *-r* or *-l* optionally elide initial *-A* or *-o* of the terminations, e.g., *main-* 'to acquiesce' + *Ati* : *mainati* or *mainti*, *main-* + *otīr* : *manotīr* or *mantīr*, similarly *carati* : *carti*, *harati* : *hariti*.

(b) All roots ending in *-i* (e.g., *ji-* 'to live') combine *-i* with *-i* or *-o* of disyllabic terminations into *ir*, e.g., *ji-* *iṣāū* > *jirṣāū*, *ji-* *otir* > *jirṭir*, but *ji-* *ih* > *jīib*, *ji-* *itī* > *jīitī*.

(c) All roots ending in *-u* (e.g., *chu-* 'to touch') combine *-u* with initial *u-* or *-o-* of the terminations into *ur* (e.g., *chu-u* > *chur*, *chu-otir* > *churṭir*).

(d) All roots ending in *-A* (e.g., *kura-* 'to pile', *bṣā-* 'became'), *-az* (e.g., *nar-* 'to pour', *sarmaz-* 'to be ashamed'), *-er* (e.g., *kher-* 'to steer'), and *-or* (e.g., *qṣor-* 'to carry', *soz-* 'to sleep') add *-w-* between the root and a termination beginning with *ar-* (e.g., *kurawar*, *bṣawar*, *narwar*, *sarmarwar*, *kherwar*, *qṣorwa*, *sozwar*).

(e) All roots ending in *-A*, *-er* (except *lex*, *dex*) and *-or* (except *hor*), and transitive roots in *-az* (except *khaz*) and *ar* 'to come' add *-w-* before a termination beginning with *A-* (e.g., *kurawatī*, *narwatī*, *arwatī*, *kherwatī*, *qṣorwatī*, *sowatī*) or *-o-*, *-wo* then becoming *u* (*kurautir*, *nautir*, *autir*, *kheutir*, *qṣautir*, *soutir*).

(f) All intransitive roots ending in *-az* (except *ar* 'to come') and *khaz* 'to eat', *lex* 'to take', *dex* 'to

give' and *hor* 'to become' elide the initial *A-* or *o-* of the terminations (e.g., *jaz -Atj* : *jartj*, *jaz -otir* : *jartir*, *khartj*, *khartir*, *lertj*, *lertir*, *dertj*, *dertir*, *hortj*, *hortir*).

### The Causative

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 346. The Causative in Early Awadhi is generally formed by augmenting *-ā* to the root and then conjugating it like a transitive verb, e.g.,

*Jāyasī* : *sunāvahī* (p. 16), *milāetī* (p. 397), *cuāvahī* (p. 548);

*Tulī* : *sunāvā* (p. 17, last line), *janāvā* (p. 28, l. 20), *sicāvā* (p. 33, l. 12);

*Nūr Muhammad* : *samujhāvā* (p. 26, l. 5), *rovāvahī* (p. 26, l. 6), *kakarāyen* (p. 65, l. 2), *sunāyen* (p. 65, l. 2).

There are a few instances where the ablaut of the vowel in the first syllable (*a* : *ā*, *i* : *ē*, *u*, *ū* : *ū*) expresses the causative sense, e.g.,

*Tulīdas* : *ṣārā* (simple *ṣarā*) (p. 124, l. 14), *mēṣē* (simple *miṣē*) (p. 130, l. 12), *bōrahī* (simple *būrahī*).

In the case of *baīṣhāba*, *baisāba* and *dēkhāba*, *-ār* is augmented, e.g., *baīṣhārē* (T. p. 25, l. 7), *baisārē* (J. p. 193), *dekharāvā* (J. p. 310), (T. p. 88, l. 16). *dēkhāba* makes the causal in the ordinary way also, e.g., *dekḥāyē* (T. p. 124, l. 20).

I have not come across any example of the double causative, except perhaps *kakarāvā* 'made to call' (N. p. 25, l. 4), where the simple causative would have done.

NOTE.—The causative of  $\sqrt{\text{kāṣ}}$  'to eat' is *kāṣīl* 'to feed' found in *Jāyasī* and *Nūr Muhammad*, e.g., *saḍahī kḥiṣīvai āpu na kḥiṣī* 'He feeds all, but himself does not eat' (J. p. 7).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 347. The causative is formed generally by adding the suffix *-ā* to the simple root and then conjugating it like

any other transitive root in **-ar**, e.g., **hāṣab** 'to laugh': **hāṣarwāb** 'to make one laugh', **derkhāb** 'to see': **dekhārwāb** 'to make one see.'

The following verbs, however, form their causative by modifying the vowel, or the vowel and consonant of the root:

(a) lengthening the vowel: **paṣar**: **paṣair**-, **ukhar**:- **ukhair**-, **nikar**:- **nikair**-, **khīc**:- **khīic**; similarly **kaṭ**-, **bāḍi**-, **mar**-, **lad**-, **cir**-, **bujh**-, **jar**-.  
 (b) changing **i** into **ei** and **u** into **ou**, **phir**:- **pheir**-, **khul**:- **khour**-, similarly **ruk**-, **gfiur**-, **jur**-.  
 (c) modifying both the vowel and the consonant:

(1) alternation of **ṭ**, **ṛ** and **r**: **phaṭ**:- **phaṛ**-, **churṭ**:- **choṛ**-, **juṭ**:- **joṛ**-, **phurṭ**:- **phoṛ**-, **ṭurṭ**:- **toṛ**-, **buzṭ**:- **boṛ**-.  
 (2) alternation of **k** and **c**: **bik**:- **bōic**-.  
 In the case of **baith**- 'to sit' **air** is added (in the Western and Central dialects) after **ar** to form the causal **baithāb**: **baithairāb**.

NOTE.—It should be noted that all the roots mentioned above (except **nikar**-, **mar**-, **ruk**-, **raḥi**-) are sets of passive-active verbs rather than simple-causative.

Sometimes, there are found uses of a double causative. This is restricted to consonantal roots, e.g., **hāṣab**:-, **hāṣarwāb**, **hāṣawarwāb**, and is formed by adding **war** to the simple causative.

In the case of a set of simple causative and double causative, the former is generally used in a case where the remote agent actively helps the immediate agent to do the action, e.g., **goparṭ rāmu ko pānir pijāzinī** 'Gopāl caused Rāmū to drink water' (i.e., Gopāl actively helped Rāmū—perhaps by giving water); and the double when the remote agent is merely the director of the action through another, e.g., **goparṭ Ambika eḡ rāmu ko pānir**

**piḷawarṇaḥ** 'Gopāl caused Rāmū to drink water by the help of Ambikā'. In effect, thus, in a double causative there are more than two agents.

The double causative is, however, very seldom used as the nice distinction between the two causatives is not generally required.

**NOTE.**—The idea of the causative in some cases is expressed by quite a different root, e.g., **jaṛb** 'to go' but **paṭhawab** 'to cause to go, i.e., to send', **aiwab** 'to come' but **ainab** 'to cause to come, i.e., to bring', **raṣiāb** 'to remain' but **raikhab** 'to keep'.

**NOTE.**—**khaz** 'to eat' makes its ordinary causative in Western and Central dialects (**khawaz**) but in the Eastern dialects it is formed as **khiaz**.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 348. The suffix **ā** of the Causative goes back to **-ā-p**: **-āp**: **-v** being represented in some forms still in Modern Awadhi by **-w**. In the roots forming their causatives by ablaut, the correspondence with ancient causatives can be seen; Skt. *prasarati*: *prasārayati*, Aw. **paśarai**: **paśarai**. On the analogy of the ablaut of **a**: **ā**, the ablaut of **i**: **ē**, **ū**: **ō** is also found.

The **-r** is an augment to the suffix **-ā** and is found only in a few roots. It corresponds with **-l** of Western Hindi, and with the **-r** normally found in Sindhi, with the causatives. Its origin is obscure.<sup>1</sup>

## The Passive

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 349. (a) Early Awadhi attests some roots which are passive in meaning, e.g., **buḷhāi** 'is extinguished' (J. p. 375),

<sup>1</sup> See J. A. S. B., 1896 Part I, pp 1—5 where Grierson connects **l**, **r**, **ḍ** etc. to Pkt. suffix **-illa** added to nouns and adjectives; and draws analogy of Skt. *kr—ṇā—ti* etc., which are said to be denominatives by Brugmann.

*mitāḥṭi* 'are effaced' (T. p. 3, l. 11), *ugharahṭi* 'are opened up' (T. p. 3, l. 11), *sūjhaḥṭi* 'become visible' (T. p. 3, l. 12). Such roots, though they take the active forms, always express the passive sense.

(b) Some active roots form the passive by augmenting *-ā*, e.g., *samuda sukhāḥṭi* 'oceans are dried up' (J. p. 19), *raḥḥ kaḥāvatu parama birāgi* 'he was called a great hermit' (T. p. 146). Denominative verbs come under this class of the passive, e.g.,

Jāyasī: *lajāneu* 'was ashamed' (p. 179), *judāna* 'became cool' (p. 346).

Tulsī: *ḍerānā* 'became afraid' (p. 58, l. 5), *jurānē* 'become cool' (p. 60 l. 20).

Nūr Muhammad: *bhulānē* 'became forgetful' (p. 15, l. 23), *arujhānē* 'became entangled' (p. 15, l. 23).

NOTE.—The augment in the case of the Causative also is *-ā* but these denominatives are treated of as intransitive and so add *-n-* between the root and the terminations of the Past tenses. The context also indicates the difference.

(c) Besides the above, Early Awadhi attests some forms of the synthetic passive. The Passive Imperfect Participle has been shown above [§ 294 (c)]. Moreover, we find an impersonal passive present-imperative ending in *-ia*, *-iahi* (*-iai*), *-iē*, *-ijai*, *ijia*, *ijiai*, *-ijē*. Of these *-ia*, *-iai* (*-iahi*), *-ijia* and *-ijiai* are found in Jāyasī, *-ia*, *-iahi*, *iē*, *-ijai* in Tulsī and *-ijē* in Nūr Muhammad. In Nūr Muhammad, however, I have found only two instances of this form (viz. *kijē* 'make', *ṭijē* 'take', p. 27, l. 2).

In Jāyasī and Tulsī there are many more examples. Jāyasī: *jaṃbuka kaḥa jaṭi caḍhiaki rājā, singha sāji kai caḍhia ta chājā* 'If one were to attack a jackal, O king, it will be best if he attacks after making preparation for (the attack of a) lion' (p. 530), *āju kālhi bhā cāhia* 'it should come about to-day or to-morrow' (p. 442), *kharaga dākhī pāni hoi ḍhariiai* 'on seeing the sword, one (or you) should



trickle down as water' (p. 536); *bhaleht ās āba māyā kijia*, *pahunāi kakā āesu dījia* 'it is well that you have come, be favourable and order (me to put forward) hospitality' (p. 286), *ghāli kasaufi dījiai* 'give (her) after putting (him) on the touchstone' (p. 610).

Tulsi : *sunia kathā sādara rati māni* 'let the story be heard with respect and affection' (p. 19), *cahia amiya jaga jurai na chāchi* 'nectar is wanted, but even whey is not available in this world' (p. 7), *jānia bhagati na pūjā* 'neither devotion nor worship is known' (p. 81); *bāyasa paliaki ati anurāgā* 'let the crow be nurtured with great affection' (p. 5), *bēsa pratāpa pūjiahi tēū* 'they also are worshipped owing to their guise' (p. 6); *gai nisa bahula sayana aba kijai* 'night has passed sufficiently, let thee sleep' (p. 74). Similarly *kariē*, *kariē* etc.

NOTE.—As shown above these forms of the Passive are sometimes Imperative in sense, and sometimes denote merely the Present tense or the Conjunctive.

(d) Besides the synthetic passive, instances of the analytic passive also are found in Early Awadhi, e.g.,

Jāyasi : *gagana nakhata jasa jāht na ganē* 'so many stars in the sky as cannot be counted' (p. 177), *jau pisata ghuna jāihi pisā* 'while grinding barley, the insect also will be ground' (p. 487), *sahi na jāi jōbana kara bhārū* 'the weight of youth cannot be borne' (p. 382).

Tulsi : *bidhi karataba kachu jāi na jānā* 'Fate's action is not known at all' (p. 180), *ārati prīti na sō kahi jāfi* 'that agony and affection is not described' (p. 195), *khaga mtga haya gaya jāht na jōē* 'birds, deer, horses, and elephants are not seen' (p. 219), *barani na jāht mañju dui sālā* 'the two beautiful houses cannot be described' (p. 209); *mohi lakhi parata bharata matu dhū* 'to me it appears that it is Bharata's opinion' (p. 270), *ehi pāpinīhi būjhi kā pāren* 'what was understood by this sinner?' (p. 175).

Nūr Muhammad : *qara sū ullara jāi na dīnhā* 'owing to fear, the answer is not given' (p. 58), *nā w māri jāi* 'otherwise, I shall be killed' (p. 58), *sapana na būjhā jāi* 'the dream is not explained' (p. 5).

NOTE.—see § 354 (5) *paraba*.

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 350. (a) Some roots are passive in sense by themselves, e.g., *kaṭ-* 'to be cut', *bādh-* 'to be bound', *jar* *lakariz jaldiz nariz ciratī* 'this wood does not split (i.e. is not split) soon', *jur gharar bharai tab caliz* 'let this jar fill (i.e. be filled), then we shall go'. Most of such roots have merely a passive sense, their causative expressing the active, e.g., *kaṭ-* : *kar-*. But a few (e.g., *bhar-*) have an active or passive sense according to the context. For instance, in the above instance it has been used as passive, but in *gopāl iu gharar bharai tab caliz* 'let Gopāl fill this jar, then we shall go' it is active.

NOTE.—*cah-* 'to want' is used passively in the case of 3rd person singular only, e.g., *rupajar cahiz* 'money is wanted'.

(b) A passive is formed sometimes by adding the suffix *-ar* to transitive roots and then conjugating them like intransitive roots [for distinction see above § 345 (e) and (f)], e.g., *jur Admīr ārdhar dekhartī hai* 'this man appears (lit. is seen) blind', *tum rāxai janartiz hau* 'you appear to be (lit. are perceived) widows'. This passive, however, in Awadhi is found with a restricted number of roots only, mostly such as denote perception or knowledge (*sunar* 'to be heard', *aghar* 'to be satiated') but sometimes with a few other roots (*bughar* 'to become extinguished'). Denominative verbs (formed by adding *ar-*, e.g., *miṭh* 'sweet' : *miṭhar* 'to taste sweet', *loṇ* 'salt' : *lonar* 'to taste saltish', *khaṭraz* 'sour' : *khaṭar* 'to appear sour', *piar* 'yellow' : *piarar* 'to become yellow', *harar*

'green' : **harīar** 'to become green', **laḥār** 'wave' : **laḥārār** 'to appear full of waves, thence metaphorically, prosperous') come under this passive.

NOTE.—In **bart** 'word' : **batlār** 'to talk a word', there is an addition of **l** before the suffix **-ar**. In the Central and Eastern dialects **-i-** (**batīar**) or **-u-** (**batuār**) instead of **l** is found.

(c) It should be noted that the suffix **ar** denotes the causative also; but the difference lies in the fact that causatives are transitive and the passive (including the denominative) is intransitive and hence there is difference in conjugation, e.g., **dekharwatī** 'shows' : **dekhartī** 'appears'. Where the form does not show the difference, the context indicates it, e.g., **dekhareū** may mean either 'showed' or 'appeared' according to the context.

(d) The analytic or periphrastic passive is formed in Awadhi with the help of three verbs : **jarb** 'to go', **arwab** 'to come' and **parab** 'to fall'. For instance : **Ab sab dākur mazreṛ jāīāṭ** 'now all dacoits killed will go i.e., now all the dacoits will be killed', **Jab dūddh piāi mē arwāi tab sewardṛ jānī parāi** 'when milk drinking in comes then taste knowing falls i.e., when milk is drunk then only its taste may be known'. With **jarb** the Perfect Participle (the forms changing according to gender or number as required) is employed, and the agent is put in the instrumental case, if it is meant to be indicated. With **arwab** the oblique case of the verbal noun (followed by a locative postposition) is employed and the agent is put in the genitive. In the case of **parab**, the absolutive (without the postposition) is employed and the agent appears in the dative case.

(e) A sort of impersonal passive is formed from intransitive verbs (and transitive verbs intransitively used) by employing **jarb** with the Perfect participle (3rd sg.) and expresses the additional aspect of ability to do an act, e.g., **ui**

**ser arwar narix jartj** 'he is unable to come', **kaz tum ser khaxwar narix jartj** 'can't you eat?' This additional aspect of 'ability' is present sometimes in the case of the transitive verb also, e.g., **tum ais duxbar hoi gou ki derkhez narix jartiu** 'you have become so lean that you cannot be looked at, i.e., the glance turns away from you.'

(f) The active construction is the normal feature of the language. The passive is used only to lay an emphasis either on the object of the active construction or on its attribute (**jaz d̥ʁoxl phuxtj janartj hai** 'this drum appears to be broken') or on the action itself (**mai ser cilzarwar narix jartj** 'I cannot shout'). The subject occupies a very secondary place and is mostly understood.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 351. The suffix of the Passive, **-ya-**, is represented in MIA. as **-ia** and **-ijja**, and in Early Awadhi (see § 349) as **-i-** or **-ij-** found in the passive imperfect participle and in the passive imperative; the **-iahi** (**-iai**), **-iē** go back to passive MIA. **-iai** (**kariai**), the present tense denoting the imperative. In **-ia**, the 3rd sg. termination **-a** is found after the passive root. Similarly **-ijai**, **-ijē** go back to MIA. **-ijjai** and in **-ijia** and **ijiai**, a sort of double passive is visible from the form, e.g., Pkt. **dijjiai** 'is given.' In Modern Awadhi, the synthetic passive is found in certain root-forms only and in the Imperfect participle of the 1st pl. Besides **cahi** 'is wanted' is passive.

§ 352. The denominative in **-ā** is passive. The origin of this is the ancient denominative affix **-āya-** (e.g., **vīrāyate** 'acts like a brave person'). This is clearly distinguished in Mod. IA. from the causative which is always transitive. Further, in the past tense, the denominative has the augment **-n** (see § 297), e.g., **śarmāncaū** 'I became ashamed'. This **-n-** does not appear in the causative, e.g., **khawaxaū** 'I fed'; similarly a causative requires **-w-** before

a termination of the imperfect participle (e.g., *sarmatwatī*) 'putting to shame') while a denominative does not (e.g., *sarmatī* 'getting ashamed').

353. The analytic passive is the regular passive of the modern language; occasional instances of it are found in Early Awadhi also. It began with the compounding of verbs like *yā* 'to go' with other verbs (e.g., *vēḍhiuṃ jāi* 'is encompassed', *vilīhiuṃ jāi* 'is painted', *Karpūramāñjari*, I. 30) and became stereotyped in this sense by and by and ousted the synthetic passive.

### Compound Verbs

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 354. The use of compound verbs is not very common in Early Awadhi, but it is still found quite frequently. We have found instances of the following verbs, used with the participles, the verbal noun or the absolutive of the principal verb, as compound verbs. The shades of meanings expressed are the same as in Modern Awadhi.

(1) *uṣhaba*, e.g., *jāgi uṣheṭi asa dēkhata, sakhi kahu sapana bicāri* 'seeing thus I woke up. My friend, think out and explain the dream' (J. p. 439), *dalaki uṣheu suni ḥṛdaya kaṣṭhōrū* 'the hard heart, on hearing, began to break' (T. p. 168).

(2) *cahāba*, e.g., *sunu matī kāja cahasi jau sājā* 'take (my) counsel, if thou desirest to accomplish the business' (J. p. 276), *bhai cāhai asi kathā salōnī* 'the story is going to be so charming' (J. p. 78), *tasa sara sājī jarai caha rājā* 'having prepared such a pyre, the king wants to burn (himself)' (J. p. 457), *nija nayanānhi dēkhā cahaṭi nātha tumhāra biyāhu* 'Lord, (they) wish to see your marriage with their own eyes' (T. p. 42), *jō nahāi caha ehi sara bhāi* 'brothers, whoever wants to bathe in this tank' (T. p. 22), *nātha laṣana pura dēkhana cahaṭi* 'My lord, Lakṣmaṇa wishes to see the town' (T. p. 95), *karu sōi jō cāhasi kināḍ*

'do what you like to do' (N. p. 68), *āpuhī phāra cimbhārai cakā* '(He) desires to make people know him' (N. p. 6).

(3) *jāba*, e.g., *sumi vei bayana lāji chapi jāhī* '(they) conceal (themselves) becoming ashamed on hearing her words' (J. p. 186), *janu chui paen pāka baratōrū* 'as if a ripe boil (at the point of the breaking of a hair) got touched' (T. p. 168); *chūfi jāe sumiraku tuma māhī* 'it will be loosened, should you remember me' (N. p. 4).

(4) *dēba*, e.g., *dāruna sasura na nisarana dīhī* 'the harsh father-in-law will not permit (us) to go out' (J. p. 96), *phiri naht jhūlana dīhi sāl* 'later, the master will not allow (us) to swing' (J. p. 97), *tinhaht dekhāi dihesu tat Sītā* 'to them thou wilt show Sītā' (T. p. 337), *rājat rāja kāja taji dīnkā* 'the king's work was given up by him' (N. p. 11).

(5) *paraba*, e.g., *sūjhi na parata pantha adhiārā* 'the dark path would not have come to be seen' (J. p. 14), *chī pāpiniki būjhi kā parsū* 'what was it that came to be realised by this sinner' (T. p. 175), *jāni parata rājā sevana pari na hai yaha bōla* 'it appears that this word has not been heard by the King' (N. p. 25). This gives a passive sense.

(6) *pāraba*, e.g., *tumha khēvaku jau khēvai pāraku* 'if you are able to ply, ply' (J. p. 314), *tumhaht achata kō baranai pārā* 'while you live, who can describe (it)' (T. p. 117), *tabahū barana na pārāū kōhī* 'even then I cannot describe you' (N. p. 2).

(7) *pāvaba*, e.g., *chūfa na pāu mīcu kara bādhā* 'one tied to death cannot be released' (J. p. 394), *kō dēkhai pāvai vaka nāgū* 'who can be allowed to see that serpent' (J. p. 208), *durlabha sāja sulabha kari pāvā* 'was able to gather easily the requisites difficult to obtain' (T. p. 459), *jarai na pāva dēha birahāgi* 'the body is not allowed to burn in the separation-fire' (T. p. 355).

(8) *rahaba*, e.g., *bēdhi rahā sagaran saṃsārā* 'the whole world remains pierced' (J. p. 177), *rahā lukāi* 'remained in hiding' (T. p. 380).

(9) *rākhāba*, e.g., *kuhū kuhū kai kōila rākhā* 'the cuckoo went on cooing' (J. p. 43), *hōihi soi jo rāma raci rākhā* 'that which Rāma has created, will come about' (T. p. 28).

(10) *lāgaba*, e.g., *lāgī saba mili hērai, būḍi būḍi eka sātha* 'all of them diving together again and again, began to make a search' (J. p. 103), *rāma nāma siva sumirana lāgē* 'Śiva began to remember Rāma's name' (T. p. 31), *kakē lageu pōthi tabai, pāya tapī kara bāha* 'having obtained the arm of the ascetic, (he) began to compose the book' (N. p. 4).

(11) *lēba*, e.g., *khōli lēhu jō khēlahu ājū* 'if you play, do play to-day' (J. p. 96), *daccha liyē muni bōli saba* 'Dakṣa invited all the hermits' (T. p. 31), *ahai shārha mohi ānha bolāi* '(he) is standing there and has called me' (N. p. 4).

(12) *sakaba*, e.g., *chui kō sakai rājā kai bāri* 'who can touch the king's garden' (J. p. 201), *dēkhi na sakah parāi bībhūḥi* '(they) cannot look (with equanimity) at another's prosperity' (T. p. 162), *kita kai sakat vakhāna tumhārā* 'how can I make a description of yours' (N. p. 2).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 355. Compound verbs are in very common use and express various aspects. The helping verb loses its own meaning and merely helps to express a certain shade of the principal verb. The accent being on the principal verb, the helping word is pronounced with less force and has a tendency to lose its sounds. Four forms of the principal are thus compounded :

(a) the absolutive (§ 336).

(b) the oblique case of the verbal noun (§ 339 a).

(c) the Perfect participle in -*ax* (§ 297).

(d) the Imperfect participle in -*Atī*, -*At* (§ 296).

The absolutive is combined with

(1) **jazb**, **cukab**, **lezb** and **qazrab** to express definite completeness of an action, *e.g.*, **hamar gharj jarj gar** 'my house burnt down', **jab mai khari cukaū** 'when I finish eating', **mai huāz ari lezū tau batariwāū** 'let me come over there then I shall say' **uz carj gilaze paznir piz qazrisj** 'he drank up four (whole) tumblers of water'.

Of these **cukab** expresses thoroughness and **qazrab** an unexpected nature of the action.

(2) **parab**, **uṭhab**, **baiṭhab** to express suddenness or surprise, *e.g.*, **uz pagelaz argi mo kurdj paraz** 'that mad man jumped down into the fire', **tum etrez jozr sq borleu kj larikaz jazgj uṭhaz** 'you spoke so loudly that the child woke up', **atze mo mai kafi baiṭfleū** 'in the meanwhile I spoke up'.

(3) **sakab**, **pazwab**, **milab** 'to express ability to do an act, *e.g.*, **mai rupajaz lari sakatj haū** 'I can bring money', **mai kai paiflaū tau kariflaū** 'if I am able to do (it), I shall do it', **mai kar naziz kai milaz** 'I could not do it'.

**Note** — **jazb** expresses 'ability' also [see above § 350 (a)].

(4) **khazb** and **marrab** to express an offence or infliction of an undesirable thing, *e.g.*, **ui kar kutraz kartj khazisj** 'a dog has bitten him', **mai das panza ki citrhiz likhj marreū** 'I wrote out a letter of ten pages'.

(5) **calab** to express the beginning of an action, *e.g.*, **uz ham kar dekhotai marj calaz** 'no sooner did he see me, than he began to beat'.

(6) **derb** to express the intensity of an action, *e.g.*, **morj bāzī chāzj deru** 'do leave my arm'.

The oblique case of the verbal noun is combined with

(1) **derb** to express permission, *e.g.*, **mai kar roxtiz khari deru** 'allow me to take my meal'.

(2) **laigab** to express inception of an action, *e.g.*, **ab ui hamorez hiāz arwai laig haī** 'they have started coming to my place now'.



(3) **cañab** to express near completion of an act, e.g., **baxraz bajai cañatj hañ** 'it is about twelve o'clock.'

(4) **pañwab** to express the indulgence or permission to do an act, e.g., **uz kañai naxiz pañwax** 'he was not allowed to say'.

The Perfect Participle in **-ax** is combined with

(1) **karab** to denote frequency of an action, e.g., **ham arwax karibax** 'I shall come frequently'.

(2) **cañab** to denote wish, e.g., **ui jaxwax cañati hañ** 'they are desirous of going'.

The Imperfect Participle in **-ati, -at** is combined with **rañ-** to express continuity, e.g., **uz paññatj rañax, boxlax naxiz** 'he continued reading (and) did not speak'.

NOTE.—Though the root **-rañ-** is employed as an auxiliary to denote the past tense, it denotes continuity as a compound verb. If it were merely an auxiliary the form in the above instance ought to have been **raññai** and not **rañax**.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 356. In OIA. the various aspects and shades of meaning were expressed either by suffixing or prefixing the roots. With the disintegration of the system of conjugation and the levelling of terminations these could no longer serve the purpose. Modern Indo-Aryan has, therefore, adopted a method of compounding two verbs where one expresses the main semanteme while the other expresses the shade or aspect. It is interesting to note that Dravidian has a similar use of compound verbs, on which Chatterji remarks: 'It is very likely that here we have another contribution of Dravidian in the formation of Modern Indo-Aryan speeches' (p. 1050).

## CHAPTER VII

### ADVERBS

§ 357. Adverbs of Awadhi are based on nouns (e.g., **jaḷdī** 'soon'), pronouns (e.g., **jaisei** 'as'), adjectives (e.g., **pañilei** 'at first') or on ancient adverbs (e.g., **अद्य** < *adya* 'to-day') or adverbial expressions (e.g., **ताहि कै** : *tasmin kṛtē* 'after that').

PIA. adverbs were mostly formed by suffixes added to pronouns or were merely case-forms of nouns or adjectives (vide Whitney : *Sanskrit Gram.*, Chap. XVI). Modern adverbs have either descended from old adverbs or are fresh formations from nouns and adjectives, e.g., *adya* > *ajjū* > **अज्ज** and **jaḷdī** < Pers. *jaldī*.

### Adverbs of Time

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 358. 'now' : **āba** (J. 10, T. 6), **-āī** (N. 4), 'then' : **taba** (J. 78, T. 6), **+hū** (N. 2), **tabai** (N. p. 4), **tabat** (N. p. 37); 'when?' : **kaba**, **+kū** (J. 346, N. 27); 'when' : **juba** (J. 40, T. 4, N. 6); 'to-day' : **ājw** (J. 196, T. 165), **ājw** (N. 3); 'yesterday or tomorrow' : **kāh**, **kāhī** (J. 96, 271, T. 101), **kāhā** (N. 52); 'always' : **nīti** (J. 111), **nīti** (T. 157), **nītiā** (N. 7), **nīti** (N. 59); 'formerly' : **agumena** (J. 537), **agumē** (N. 109), **āgē** (T. 289), **āgela** (N. 85), **pañilā** (N. 13); 'then' : **tahiā** (J. 110, T.); 'when' : (**jahiā** (T.)); 'in the morning' : **bhōra** (J. 271, N. 4), **bhōrē** (N. 17), 'in the evening' : **sājha** (J. 375, N. 14); 'again' : **puni** (T. 5), **bahuri** (T. 4), **bahōri** (T. 162), **phiri** (T. 171), **phira** (N. 38), **phēra** (N. 40), 'immediately' : **turata** (T. 324), 'soon' : **bēgi** (T. 161).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 359. (a) based on nouns : **Lmp.** uses **sariti** 'moment', e.g., **ix sariti** 'just now', **ni sariti** or **tir sariti**

'then, at that time', **jiz saxiti** 'when (relative)', **kiz saxiti** 'when?'. Some dialects use **kšan** 'moment' or **berijax**, **samau**, **samaj**, or even **term** 'time'; the Eastern dialects generally use **jurn** 'time', e.g., **iz juru** 'now', **ux juru** 'then'. Other nouns used adverbially are: **jaldiz** 'lit. haste, but hastily, soon', **phurti**; and **caṭkaiz** also mean 'haste' but are similarly adverbially used; **etrix deir mo** 'meanwhile', **deir se** 'late', **sab din** 'always'.

(b) based on pronouns: Lmp. has **Ab** 'now', **tab** 'then', **jab** 'when (relative)', **kab** 'when?'. The corresponding forms in B., Fy. and other Eastern dialects are **Abiaj**, **tabiaj**, **jabiaj** and **kabiaj**. G. has **Abṣaj**, **tabṣaj**, **jabṣaj**, **kabṣaj**. Other adverbs of the type are: **Ab kiz** or **Ab tiz** 'once again', **jalex** : **talax** 'till then'.

(c) based on adjectives: **paṣiler** 'previously', **arger** 'formerly', **parcher** 'later', Lmp. **etre mo**, Fy. **jatare mo** 'meanwhile'.

(d) based on ancient adverbs: **axju** (**axj**) 'to-day', **kaxiṣi** 'yesterday or to-morrow', **paraū** 'day before yesterday or day after to-morrow', **naraū** 'two days before yesterday or two days after to-morrow', **baxdi** or **baxdi ko** 'afterwards', Lmp. **phir**, Fy. **phin**, **phun**, M. **puni** 'again'; **Agoman** 'formerly—in ancient times', **turto** 'at once', **nit** 'always', **bṣoraṣṣor** 'in the morning', **ārsāū** 'this year', **paiz saxl** 'last year'.

NOTE.—Sometimes a play upon tone expresses the idea of 'soon', e.g., **axox** 'come!', but **axox** 'come soon!' would have a higher pitch on the last syllable and a lengthening also which would appear as **axoxo**.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 360. (a) **saxiti**: Ar. *sā'al*, **kšan**: *kṣana*, **berijax** < *vēlā* + pleonastic *-ikā*, **samau**: *samayo*, **term**: Eng. *time*,

**ju:n** : *yūni*? (see *Nēpālī Dic.* *juni*, p. 220). **phurtiz**, **caṭkaiz** and **deir** are nouns used in the language quite generally. Early Awadhi *bahuri*, *bahūri*, *phiri*, *phēra* are absolutive forms of the roots; *sājha* : *sandhyā*, *bhōra* 'morning, dawn'; *bēgi* is derivable from Skt. *vega*.

(b) The forms in **-b** (**Ab** etc.), Early Awadhi **-ba**, appear to be the combinations of the initial pronominal syllables *a-*, *ta-*, *ja-*, *ka-* with *-eva* : *evam* (vide Chatterji, p. 856). **Abizaj**, etc., are fresh formations or possibly the oblique cases in *-hi* resulted as such; **Abhāj**, etc., have an emphatic **-h-**. **jalez**, **talez** show the addition of *lahi* > **lez**. Early Awadhi has two forms *jahiā*, *tahiā* (attested by Modern Bhōjpurī) which denote time.

(c) **pañilez**, etc., are the locative cases of *pahila* < *paḍhilla*, etc.; **etrez**, **etarez** also are locative cases of pronominal adjectives.

(d) **axjū** : *adya*; **kaxli**, **kaxli**, **kālha** : *kalyē*, the aspiration being emphatic. The ancient words *kyah* and *svah* have left no trace. *svah*, however, appears under **paraū** < *paraśvah*. It is interesting to note that *-tv-* > *-ss-* has lost trace in Awadhi, possibly after becoming *-h-*; **naraū** is on the analogy of **paraū**. The distinction between past (*kyah*) and future (*svah*) also has gone out. **baxdi** comes from Arabic *bā'd* 'after'. In *phin*, *phun* we find a curious blending of *phiri* and *puni* both of which exist in some dialects. *agumana*, *agamō* and **Agemañ** are connected with *agra-*; **turto** and **nit** have correspondents in Early Awadhi *tnrata* and *nilla* (*niti*, *nita*, *nitu*) and should be *ardha-tatsama* forms of *tvārilam* and *nityam*.

## Adverbs of Place

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 361. 'here' : **iā** (J. 104, T. 170, N. 2), 'there' : **uā** (J. 273, T., N. 69), **tahā** (J. 57, T. 324), **tahā** (J. 97,

T. 343, N. 3), *tahawā* (J. 113, T. 345); 'where': *jahā* (J. 24, T. 3), *jahā* (J. 80, T. 4, N. 4), *jahawā* (J. 225, T. 345), 'where?': *kaha* (J. 33, 17), *kahā* (J. 90, T. 342, N. 8), *kahawā* (J. 225, N. 11), 'before, in front': *āgai* (J. 107), *āgē* (J. 123, T. 324), *āgē* (T. 328, N. 10), *agahura* (T. 167), *āgū* (J. 245), *āgēha* (N. 105), *agāū* (N. 146), *saūha* (J. 296, N. 11), *sauhar* (N. 79), 'behind': *pāchē* (J. 138, T. 286), *pārkhē* (N. 17); 'near': *niara* (J. 332, N. 14), *niarē* (J.), *niyarē* (N. 13), 'far off': *dūri* (J. 265, T. 289), *dūrei* (N. 159), *dūrū* (N. 14); 'on this side': *ita* (T. 173), 'on that side': *uta* (T. 173), 'on which side?': *kita* (N. 2), 'inside': *bhītara* (T. 14, N. 7), 'outside': *bāhara* (T. 14, N. 7).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 362. (a) based on nouns: Lmp. combines *wair* 'side' with the pronominal adjectives *jiz*, *tiz*, *iz*, *ui*, *kiz* in order to indicate direction, e.g., *iz wair* 'on this side, here'. R. combines *kaṭṭiz* 'side', e.g., *kez kaṭṭiz* 'whither?' B. and G. have the combinations of *alāg* or *or* with the adjectives, e.g., G. *jauniz alāg* 'on which side', *wafli or* 'thither'. In Fy. and Sl. as well as in parts of Gonda we find some forms where the pronominal adjective and the noun have become incorporated, e.g., *eṣar*, *oṣar*, *jeṣar*, *keṣar*, B. *akolāg* 'on one side', G. *kaṣewar* 'whither', *oṣiawar* 'hither'. In A. and M. similarly we find *oṭhāz* 'here', *oṭhāz* 'there', *keṭhāz* 'where?'.

(b) based on pronouns or pronominal adjectives: Lmp. has *hiāz* 'here', *huāz* 'there', *jaṣhāz taṣhāz* 'where...there', *kaṣhāz* 'where?'. In Eastern dialects we have these as well as elongated forms, e.g., Fy. *kaṣhāwaz* 'where?'; other dialects agree with Lmp. Besides we have *Aisiz* 'on this side, hither', *Waisiz*, *Jaisiz* *taisiz*, *kaisiz*; A. has *oṣkiz* 'hither', *oṣkiz* 'thither'.

(c) other adverbs: *bṣit̃ar* 'within', G., P., Fy. *bṣit̃ar* or *bṣit̃arex*; *baṣṣer* or *baṣṣiriz* 'outside', *oprar* 'above', *tarex* or *khazlex* or *tarkhalex* 'below',

**aigex** 'before', P. **aigēi**; **paichez** (P. **pačhwāi**) 'behind', **neirez** or **naigicez** (B. **lagicez**) 'near', **durji** (Eastern **durj**) 'far', **palrez** (R. **palzar**) 'beyond', **Anto** 'elsewhere'.

NOTE.—The multiplicative adverbs 'twice', 'thrice', etc., have been shown above under Numerals (§ 231). The idea of a 'second time' is indicated either by **dosaraxi ke** or by combining the ordinal number with a word expressive of 'time, turn', e.g., **dosariz dazī**. Similarly **tisaraxi ke** or **tisariz dazī**.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 363. (a) **waxr**, **oxr**, **kaītiz** and **Alāg** are normal words for 'side' in the language, some of these have already coalesced with the qualifying adjectives. In **eṭhāz**, etc., we can see *sthāna* > *ṭhāna* incorporated in the same manner.

(b) **jaḥāz**, etc., of which we find short (*jaḥa*) and long (*jaḥawā*) forms also in Early Awadhi, should be connected with MIA forms in *-tṭha* (*eṭṭha* etc.), *-tṭha* > *-ḥa* [see Chatterji (p. 858), also *Nep. Dic.* (p. 81 under *kahā*)].

(c) **bhiṭar** < *abhyantare*, **baṭier** cf. Skt. *bahiḥ*, **upzar** : *upari* with emphatic elongation of **p**, **tarer** : *talā*, *khālā* cf. Skt. *khallāḥ* 'creek' (*Nep. Dic.* p. 121 under *khālci*); **neirez**, **niara**, **niarē** are connected with *nikāṣe* while **naigicez** and **lagicez** may be connected with *\*laṅghitya* 'that can be crossed, near'. Professor Turner, however, accepts Hoernle's derivation from Persian *nazdik* (*Nep. Dic.* p. 334, under *nagic*) to which **najik** found in Bgh. and Chattis. is surely related. **durji** : *dūra*; **palrez** may be compared with *pallava* 'extension'. **Anto**, **anata** go back to *anyatra*. Early Awadhi *saḥa*, *saḥai* are connected with *saṁmukha* and *ita*, *uta* may be learned words corresponding to Skt. *itah* etc., or connected with *atra*, *\*itra* etc.

## Adverbs of Manner

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 364. Three varieties of forms, in *-imi*, in *-is* and in *-asa* are found in all the texts, as far as pronominal adverbs are concerned :

*imi* 'in this manner' (J. 323), *jimi* 'in which manner' (J. 326, T. 4), *timi* 'in that manner' (T. 286), *kimi* 'how?' (J. 91, T. 18, N. 8); correspondingly *asa* (J. 11, T. 9), *tasa* (J. 8, T. 18), *jasa* (J. 17, T. 18, N. 2), *kasa* (J. 96, T. 161, N. 3), and *aisē* (T. 289), *aisai* (J. 103), *aisō* (N. 69), *taisē* (N. 100), *jaisē* (J. 66, T. 166), *jaisō* (N. 69), *kaisē* (T. 166, N. 56), *kaisai* (J. 110). Besides in Tulsidas we find *bhāti* or *bidhi* added to pronominal adjectives in order to indicate manner, e.g., *kehi bhāti* 'in which manner?' (p. 162), *ehi bidhi* 'in this manner' (p. 17). Sometimes *nāl* is found similarly added, e.g., *parabata kai nāl* 'like a mountain' (J. 332), *raurihi nāl* 'like yourself' (T. 158). Other adverbs of this class are : *sajaga* 'alert' (T. 166), *nidharaka* 'fearlessly' (T. 173), *balī* 'forcibly' (T. 174), *bariāl* 'forcefully' (T. 326), *bihālā* 'out of sorts' (T. 326); 'how?' *kita* (J. 56), *kittu* (J. 31), *kala* (T. 163).

NOTE.—Adverb of quantity 'a little': *maku* (J. 98), *raffika* (N. 19).

### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 365. (a) based on nouns : the Western dialects, R. and P. as well as a part of B. combine a noun indicating manner (Lmp. and S. *tanax*, L., U., F., R., Br. and P. *tanax* or *tarax*, P. *bidhi* also) with some adjective, e.g., Lmp. *ix tanax* 'in this way', *Aczbix tanax* 'well'. Other dialects do not possess adverbs of manner based on nouns.

(b) based on pronominal adjectives : Lmp. *Aisex* 'in this way', *Waisex*, *Jaisex...taisex*, *kaisex*, some dialects (B., G., Br., Sl. and part of P.) have *As*, *was*, *JAs...*

**tas, kas**; others (P, Fy., Sl., A., M.) have **Aisen, waisen, jaisen...taisen, kaisen**, or **kasas** or **kasak**.

(c) Other adverbs: **hazliz** 'rapidly', **dhizrez** or **dhizmez** (P. *rugus rugus*) 'slowly', **jhatze** 'hurryingly', **nifurez** 'bowingly', Fy. **kalez kalez** 'slowly', Lmp. **ewaĩ** 'in this way'.

NOTE.—Adverbs of quantity are based on the adjectives of quantity, pronominal or otherwise, e.g., 'more': **Aur**, G. **saigar**, P. **adhiakar, awar**; 'little': **tani** or **tanik**, Br. **kinc, ranc**; 'not at all': **birkulzi**, Fy. **berkul**.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 366. (a) **tanaz** and **taraz** both go back to Pers *tarah*, -n- being a variant of -r-, *bidhi* < *vidhi*, *bhāti* < *bhakti* (Nep. Dic., p. 473) and *nāt* < *nyāyēna*.

(b) **As** etc., are based on pronominal adjectives [see § 266 (a)] only in modern language there are fresh suffixes -n and -k in some dialects. For Early Awadhi -mi forms Hoernle (p. 314) and Chatterji (p. 860) suggest a derivation from Apabhramśa forms *jemva* etc. (see Pischel § 261).

(c) Other adverbs are either onomatopoeic or *desi* words (e.g., **jhatze**), or are based on nouns, with or without prepositions, e.g., **hazliz** 'haste' (Ar.), *bali*: *bala*, *bihālā*: Pers. *bēhāl*. **ewaĩ** may be compared with *ēvamēva* and may be an *ardha-latsama* form of it.

## Miscellaneous Adverbs

### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 367. 'Why?': **kāhē, kāhē** (N. 65), 'no (prohibitive)': **jani** (J. 142, T. 4), **jini** (N. 55), 'no, not (denial)': **na** (J. 110, T. 4, N. 2), **nahē** (J. 90, T. 7, N. 4), **nāhē** (J. 112), **nāhēna** (T. 163), 'why not?': **kina** (T. 158, N. 77), 'surely': **abasi** (T. 177), 'without': **binu** (J. 222, T. 4), **binā** (N. 14), **bāju** (J. 222), **bihūna** (J. 323).



NOTE.—Adverbs are compounded and used as in Modern Awadhi (§ 368-69). The postpositions for 'upto' are: *lāi* (J. 107), *lagi* (J. 61, T. 115), *laga*, (N. 31), *lāi* (J. 97, N. 66).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 368. *kārīez* 'why?', *hāi* 'yes', *naiz*, *naīīez*, Sl. *naiz*, Fy. and F. *naīīez*, P. *naīin*, R. *naīīīez* 'no, not'; *naiz* 'not—prohibitive', Eastern *jin*; *sarīij* 'perhaps', *tāni* 'a little—invitative'.

NOTE.—Adverbs are sometimes compounded, e.g., *jaīīā*..... *tāīīā* 'at some places', *jab* . . . *tāb* 'sometimes, frequently', *caīīai jab* 'whenever', *caīīai jaīīāz* 'wherever', *caīīai* . . . *jaīīez* 'howsoever'.

§ 369. (a) Comparison of adverbs is expressed in the same manner as of adjectives (§ 225), e.g., Lmp. *mai in karm tum sez jaldiz kai sakatiū* 'I can do this thing earlier than you'.

(b) Adverbs of time and place can be employed with postpositions *sez* (sq) to denote the idea of 'from', with *kai* (ko) to denote the idea of 'of' and with *lai*, *lagi* (lag), *takp*, *taluk* to denote 'upto', e.g., *Ab sez ais karm naiz kīīeu* 'do not do such a thing from now', *kaīīa ko aīīez laīīeu* 'the mango of which place have you brought?', *kab taluk aīīāu* 'upto what time will you come back?', *kaīīāz tak jaīīāu* 'up to what place will you go?'.

NOTE.—Where English uses an adverb (e.g., very, much) to modify an adjective, Awadhi employs the ordinary adjective, e.g., Lmp *in gageraz baīīaz garuz hai* 'this jar is very heavy', *jar baīīīez baīīez garuz hai* 'this bucket is very heavy', *jaīīez acīīiz waiz meīīaruaz hai tāīīez iz saīīar me eīīkau naiz* 'no lady is so pretty in this town as that one', *ui ardīīez māīīdez haīīardīīez nīīk* 'he is half ill and half well'.

## C. ORIGIN

§ 370. *kārīez* should be connected with some form of *kīī* (possibly *katham*), though the suffix is not clear.

*na* < *na*; *naht*, *nāht* go back to *na* plus an emphatic enclitic which may be a form of  $\sqrt{as}$ - 'to be'. *natthi* is regularly found in MIA and means 'is not'. Professor Turner suggests contamination of Skt. *nahi* (*Nep. Dic.*, p. 337 under *naht*). The derivation of *jani*, *jin* from *yat na* is suggested by Professor Chatterji. *saxiti* is connected with Pers. *tāyad*; *tani* may be compared with *tanuka* 'a little'.

NOTE.—The compounding of adverbs or the use does not show any divergence from that of the earlier stages.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### CONJUNCTIONS

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 371. (a) Cumulative—'and' : *au* (J. 101, N. 1), *aru* (T. 326), *auru* (J. 149), *aura* (N. 3).

(b) Alternative—'may be' : *baru* (T. 165), *baruka* (T. 176), 'or' : *ki* (T. 166); 'otherwise, or' : *nāhs ta* (J. 132, T. 163), *nā tū* (N. 20), *nā tau* (N. 36), *na ta* (T. 346).

(c) Adversative—'but' : *pai* (T. 5), 'even then' : *tadapi* (T. 18), 'though' : *jadapi*.

(d) Subordinative—'if' : *jau* (*jan*) (J. 29, 20, T. 9, 7, N. 21), *jō* (N. 6), *joha* (N. 117), *jo* (N. 16), 'if...then' : *jau...tau* (J. 29, T. 11, 165, N. 77); (if)...then : *ta* (T. 165); 'as if' : *janu* (J. 107, T. 18), *jānatū*, *jānatū* (J. 204), *manahū* (T. 158), *dahū* (J. 107), *dhaū* (T. 177).

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 372. (a) Cumulative—'and' *Au*, *Fy. Au* or *AO*, e.g., *ui au ham duṛṇau janex bajairai jaibax* 'He and I, both persons, will go to the market', *ui axex au chin bharj baithj ko cal diṛex* 'he came and went away after sitting for a while'. Sometimes a mere *A* (*u* or *o* dropped out) stands in rapid speech.

(b) Alternative—'either or' *caṣai...caṣai*, *ki*, e.g., *caṣai biāx baithau caṣai huāx* 'either sit here or there', *iu ljaxṣau ki ux* 'will you take this or that?'. The form of *caṣai* is *caṣaij* in the Eastern dialects and *caṣiau* in U. and South L; 'neither...nor' is expressed by *na ... na*, e.g., *na ham iu lexib na ux* 'neither shall I take this nor that'; 'otherwise' is expressed by *naxi tau* (*naxiṭx tau*), e.g., *ham kar rupaja deṛu naxi tau mazrib* 'give me money or else I shall beat (you)', *ki* 'or', e.g., *Ais hai ki naxi* 'is it so or not?'

(c) Adversative—'but' Lmp. *Akel* or *lerkin*, Fy. and Sl. *mulaz*, P. *munaz*, G. *mudaz*, B. *bakiz*, e.g., Lmp. *ui baĩ tau amizir Akel dexti kozi ko narĩĩ* 'he is rich but he never gives (anything) to anybody'.

(d) Subordinate—'that' *ki* (Eastern dialects generally *ke*), north B. and G. *manez*, e.g., Lmp. *ham kar uz bataxisĩ kij gāzu mo coiriz hoi gai* 'he told me that a theft had occurred in the village', B. *taun țair diĩin manez kartik mo azez tab razm razm sun lexiz* 'he turned him away (saying) that come in Kārtik (month), then I shall hear Rām Rām'; 'so that' *jiz maz*, *jefi maz*. e.g., *uz paũĩĩ rafiaz jiz maz paũĩai na jari ko paraĩ* 'he lay down in bed so that he may not have to go to school', 'if' *jo*, Sl. *jau*, 'if then' *jo... tau*, 'then' *tau*, *to*, e.g., *jo mai jazũ* 'if I go', *jo sozi jazũ tau jagazi diĩeu*, 'if I go to sleep, do wake me up', *tau kar bfiar* 'what happened, then?'; 'as if' *janaũ* or *manaũ* or *dĩiaũ* e.g., *Ais cupziz saĩdĩin janaũ marĩ ger horĩ* 'he kept so quiet, as if he were already dead.'

### C. ORIGIN

§ 373. (a) The cumulative conjunctions in use in Awadhi are connected with Skt. *apara*, in some cases (*Au*) the *-ra* has dropped out while in others (*aru*) the *p > v > u* has changed place.

(b) Early Awadhi *baru* goes back to *varam* and *baruka* may be *baru* plus an enclitic *ka*. I should prefer this derivation to that from Pers. *balke*; *ki* < *kiṃ*. *caĩĩai* and *caĩĩaj* are the Imperative forms of the verb *caĩĩab*, *caĩĩab* 'to desire'. *tau*, *ta* etc., should be connected with *tatah*.

(c) Early Awadhi *tadapi* and *jadapi* are *ardha-tatsama* forms of *tadyapi* and *yadyapi* which also are found in the Rāmāyana. *pai* may be connected with *param* (see Hoernle: *Gram. of the Gaudian Languages*, § 561)

or may be the absolutive form (*pāi*) of *pāwab* 'to obtain'. *pāi* > *pai* will mean 'having obtained', 'obtaining' and can easily be used in the sense of a conjunction. *Akel* (cf. Hindi *Akerlax* 'all alone') is derived from Pkt. *ekkalla* by a metathesis of the vowels (see *Nep. Dic.*, p. 57 under *eklo*). *lekin* and *bakir* are from Persian *fekin* and *bāqī*. The words *mular*, *mudar* and *munar* are connected together and may have some affinity with *mūla* 'root'. We may compare Beng. *moddā* 'main' which Chatterji derives from Arabic.

(d) The subordinative conjunction *ki* (*ke*) is in all probability a borrowing from Persian idiom in modern language. OIA had *yat* in the beginning of a clause or *iti* at the end, with neither of which can *ki* be connected. This *ki* cannot go back to Skt. *kim* which is interrogative and survives as a conjunction in the sense of alternation. *manax* (on the borders of Nepal) is connected with Nepali *bhane* (*Nep. Dic.*, p. 468) through *mhane*.<sup>1</sup> The word *bhane* 'I say' is found almost similarly used in Pāli also. *jau* . . . *tau* are connected with *yadā* . . . *tadā* through *jaō* . . . *taō*. *janau*, *manau* etc., are forms of *jānab* 'to know' and *mānab* 'to think' in the sense of 'I know, know' and their use may be compared with *jāne* and *manye* in Sanskrit. *daḥḥ* and *dhaḥḥ* may be similarly connected with *dhyāwab* 'to think'. That words in such uses have a rapid modification of syllables is amply illustrated, e.g., *ka jani* < *kar jarnir* 'I do not know' in such expressions as *ka jani kaḥḥ se aḥi gawar* 'I do not know wherefrom he has come up'.

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Chatterji compares Beng. *mane*—a particle of emphasis or mere indication and derives it from OIA *manāk*.

## CHAPTER IX

### EMPHATIC FORMS

§ 374. Two varieties of emphatic forms, Inclusive and Restrictive, are obtained by adding terminations to the nouns, postpositions, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs and adverbs. For instance: **harthir arwar** 'the elephant came' but **harthiu arwar** 'the elephant *also* came' and **harthin arwar** 'the elephant *only* came'.

#### Inclusive Forms

##### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 375. In Early Awadhi the Inclusive and Restrictive forms are found abundantly. The affix for the Inclusive form is **-lu (-u)**. The **-lu** forms are very common in *Jāyasī* while **-u** in *Nūr Muhammad*; **-u** combined with the previous **-a-** appears as **-o**. *Tulsīdās* comes between these two. For instance:

(a) Nouns—*janamaḷu* 'throughout life' (J. p. 23), *sapaneḷu* 'even in dream' (T. p. 163), *gauriḷu* 'Gaurī also' (N. p. 17), *phūlunaḷū* *iḥ* 'more than even flowers' (N. p. 8).

(b) Adjectives—*bhaleu* 'the good also' (T. p. 5), *aurau* 'others also' (T. p. 18).

(c) Numerals—*sātau* 'all the seven' (J. p. 3), *cāriu* 'all the four' (J. p. 16), *don* 'both' (T. p. 169), *tiḥū* (*purā*) 'in all the three (towns)' (T. p. 171), *chalisau* 'all the thirty six' (N. p. 16), *cāriu* 'all the four' (N. p. 2), *sāṭṭ* 'all the seven' (N. p. 12); *chavṭ* 'all the six' (J. p. 68), *barahṭ* 'all the twelve' (J. p. 68).

The idea of indefiniteness of a number is signified in Early Awadhi by adding *-ka*, e.g., *cārika* 'about four' (T. p. 234), *pacāsaka* 'about fifty' (T. p. 200), *kōṣika* 'crores' (T. p. 165), cf. *kachūka* 'a few' (T. p. 343).

(d) Pronouns—*mōhū* 'to me also' (J. p. 363), *hamahū* 'we also' (J. p. 254), *tēhū* 'they also' (J. p. 19), cf. *tehu* (J. p. 39), *nahū* 'that also', *kaunau* 'somebody' (J. p. 69), cf. *kaunahū* (J. p. 396); *mahū* 'I also' (T. p. 259), *hamahū* 'I also' (T. p. 163), *teu* 'she also' (T. p. 288), *tuahū* 'thou also' (T. p. 170), *tinahū* 'them also' (T. p. 14), *mahū* (N. p. 76), *hamahū* (N. p. 59), *sōū* 'he also' (N. p. 107), *kuchau* 'somewhat' (N. p. 122), *tōhū* 'thou also' (N. p. 59).

(e) No instances of the emphatic forms of the postpositions have been found.

(f) Verbs—Examples of the Inclusive forms of the verb are rare: *muehū* 'dead also' (J. p. 597).

(g) Adverbs—*abahū* 'even now' (J. p. 13), *kabahū* 'ever' (J. p. 346), *katahū*, *katahū* 'anywhere' (J. p. 59); *sācchu* 'truly' (T. p. 11), *kabahū* 'ever' (T. p. 5), *ajahū* 'even now' (T. p. 122), cf. *ajahū* (T. p. 170), *aisehu* 'even so' (T. p. 289); *kabakūa* 'ever' (N. p. 115), *tabahū* 'even then' (N. p. 2), *kahū*, *katahū* 'anywhere' (N. p. 15), *kaisehū* 'some how' (N. p. 14).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 376. The general affix for the Inclusive emphatic form is *-au* after a stem ending in a consonant or *u*, *uz* (the *-u* of the stem changes to *-w* and *-uz* becomes short) and *-u* after one ending in any other vowel (the vowel if long or whispered becomes short).

NOTE.—*-āhūz* (instead of *-āu*) is optionally added to stems of one syllable or of two short syllables. If a dissyllabic or a long monosyllabic stem ends in a consonant, *-āu* and not *-āhūz* will be added (*ghāf*: *ghāfāu* or *ghāfāhūz*, *paiz*: *paizāu* never *paizāhūz*). For instance:

(a) Nouns—**kitar** 'book' : **kitarbau** 'the book also' ; **gāru** 'village' : **gārwau**, **bairuz** 'sand' : **baruwau**, **raizaz** 'king' : **raizau**, **serthiz** **serthiu**, **dflozbez** 'washerman' : **dflozbiu**, **pāzgez** : 'a particular caste of Brāhmaṇa' : **pāzgeu**, **kutizān** 'to the dogs' : **kutizānwau**.

(b) Adjectives—**lazl** 'red' : **lazlau** 'red also', **garuz** 'heavy' : **garuwau**, **karijaz** 'black' : **karijau**, **nizki** 'good' (fem.) : **nizkiu**, **bšazriz** 'heavy' : **bšazriu**, **piarez** 'yellow' (pl.) : **piareu**.

(c) Numerals—**ezk** 'one' : **erkau** 'one also', **nau** 'nine' : **nawau** 'all the nine', **bairaz** 'twelve' : **bairau** 'all the twelve', **saxthi** 'sixty' : **saxthiu** 'all the sixty', **asziz** 'eighty', **asziu** 'all the eighty', **nabrez** 'ninety' : **nabzeu** 'all the ninety'.

NOTE 1.—To add the significance of *indefiniteness* to a number -**an** (-n after a vowel) and -**ak** (-k after a vowel) are added, e.g., **bize** 'twenty', **bizean** 'scores', **pacaze** 'fifty', **pacazean** 'fifties'; **bizeak** 'about twenty', **saxthik** 'about sixty'.

NOTE 2.—**dui** 'two' has **duiu** and also **durnau**.

(d) Pronouns—If there are two forms of a pronoun, one shorter than the other (e.g., **koz**, **kaun**), the affix is added to the longer form (**kaun-au**). The personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns add -**afuz** (-fuz) instead of **au** (-u) as illustrated below :

<b>mai</b>	<b>maafuz</b>	
<b>ham</b>	<b>šamaafuz</b>	
<b>tui</b>	<b>tošuz</b>	B. G. Fy. etc. <b>tušūz</b>
<b>tum</b>	<b>tumaafuz</b>	
<b>uz, waz, waš</b>	<b>wašlau</b>	B. G. Fy. etc. <b>ušlau</b>
<b>ui</b>	<b>wašfuz</b>	
<b>un</b>	<b>umaafuz</b>	
<b>iu, jaz, jaš</b>	<b>jašlau</b>	B. G. Fy. etc. <b>išlau</b>
<b>iz</b>	<b>jašfuz</b>	
<b>in</b>	<b>inaafuz</b>	



(e) **Postpositions**—In LakhImparf the Inclusive (or Restrictive) affix can be added either to the noun, adjective or pronoun or to the postposition which follows, *e.g.*, **uz gñar sez gaz** 'he went from (his) house', **uz gñarau (gñarau)** **sq gaz** or **uz gñar seu gaz** 'he went from the house also'.

The Western dialects and R. and Br. agree with Lmp. in this practice while B. and the Eastern dialects do not; they add the termination only to the noun, adjective, pronoun or adverb, not to the postpositions.

(f) **Verbs**—the regular affix (Inclusive or Restrictive) is added to the participles, verbal noun and absolutive, *e.g.*,

<b>derkhat (derkhatj)</b>	<b>dekhotau</b>	(imperf. part.)
<b>derkhar</b>	<b>derkbau</b>	(perf. part.)
<b>derkbiz</b>	<b>derkhiu</b>	"
<b>derkher</b>	<b>derkhen</b>	"
<b>dekhab</b>	<b>dekhabau</b>	(Verbal noun)
<b>derkhj</b>	<b>dekhiu</b>	(absolutive)

In the case of the simple conjugated tense-forms the sense of the Inclusive (or Restrictive), however, is expressed in a different way, *e.g.*,

<b>uz derkhai</b>	'he may see'	<b>uz dekhimbau</b>	<b>karai</b>	'he may see also'
<b>mai derkheñ</b>	'I saw'	<b>mai dekhimbau</b>	<b>kifeñ</b>	'I saw also'
<b>uz derkbiz</b>	'he will see'	<b>uz dekhimbau</b>	<b>kariz</b>	'he will see also'
<b>ham dekhimbau</b>	'we shall see'	<b>ham dekhimbau</b>	<b>karibax</b>	'we shall see also'.

In other words, the corresponding forms of **karab** 'to do' are combined with a form obtained by adding the suffix **-ib** (in some dialects the suffix is **-ab**, **dekhabau**) plus the Inclusive (or Restrictive) termination to the root.

If the tense-form already contains the suffix (*viz.*, the **-b** future) the suffix is not added. The periphrastic tenses and

the compound verbs add the regular termination to the participle or the absolutive as the case may be, *e.g.*, **mai derkhat haū** 'I am seeing', **mai dekhotau haū** 'I am seeing also', **mai kiṣṣet haū** 'I have done', also **mai kiṣṣeu haū** 'I have done also', **uz giri parax** 'he fell down' : **uz giriu parax** 'he fell down also'.

(g) Adverbs—all adverbs take the regular affix except the following which add **-aṣūz**:

<b>ab</b> 'now' :	<b>ab-aṣūz</b> 'even now'
<b>tab</b> 'when'	<b>tab-aṣūz</b> 'even then'
<b>jab</b> 'when'	<b>jab-aṣūz</b> 'whenever'
<b>kab</b> 'when?'	<b>kab-aṣūz</b> 'ever'
<b>kaṣūz</b> 'where?'	<b>kaṣūz</b> 'nowhere, anywhere'

The aspiration changes place sometimes, *e.g.*, **ab-aṣūz** or **abṣaṣūz**. The regular affix is found in such instances as : **jaldiz** 'soon', **jaldiu** 'soon also', **abtiz** 'this time', **abtiu** 'this time also', **taṣṣaṣū** 'there also', **upṣaṣau** 'above also', **aṣau** 'in this way also'. It is found in some dialects with **ab** etc., but then the **b** is lengthened, *e.g.*, **abṣau** 'even now', **tabṣau**, **jabṣau**, **kabṣau**.

### C. ORIGIN.

§ 377. The Inclusive emphatic affix **-u** (Early Awadhi **-hu**) goes back to *khalu* and has come down to Modern Awadhi through \**kḥlu* > *kḥu* > *ḥu* (see Pischel § 148). *khalu* was employed in Sanskrit to give an idea of certainty, assuredness. By and by it appears to have assumed the meaning of inclusion. The **A-** before **-u** in Modern Awadhi should be taken as pleonastic, coming from **-ka**. The aspiration is still present in most of the emphatic pronominal forms and may be sometimes heard in a feeble degree in other forms also. The lengthening of **-u** to **-ū** can be explained only by the stress due to emphasis. That the stress was on the last syllable appears to be indicated by the disappearance of **-a** of *khalu*. In the case of the verb, the emphatic form in certain

cases is arrived at by putting the verbal noun with emphasis and then combining it with the required conjugated form of **KARAB**. This device is modern. In adverbial forms the lengthening of a consonant (e.g., **ABIAU**) also comes in to indicate emphasis.

**NOTE.**—The **-AN** affix added to Numerals appears to be merely a plural of the numeral, while **-AK**, **-K** comes from **-aka**. The latter is attested by Early Awadhi. The last vowel of the numeral is retained where it exists (e.g., **saxthik**) before appending **aka**—**e** going out. In other cases **e > a**.

### Restrictive Forms

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 378. The affix for this emphatic form is **-hi** (i) generally and **-na** after a stem ending in **-i**, **-ī**.

For instance:

(a) Nouns—**gharahi mājha** 'in the house itself' (J. p. 232), **chāraht tat** 'with mere earth' (J. p. 5), **gāūhi gāvū** 'in every village' (J. p. 263), **bāraht bārā** 'many a time' (T. p. 18), **māfina** 'in the very earth' (N. p. 59).

(b) Adjectives—**pahilai** 'at the first' (J. p. 3), **bahutai** 'many a' (J. p. 2), **thōrihi** 'only a little' (T. p. 174), **biralai kōi** 'only a rare person' (N. p. 18), **aurai (tana mana)** 'some other (body and mind)' (N. p. 12).

(c) Numerals—**ēkai** 'one only' (J. p. 29), **ēkahi bāra** 'only at one time' (T. p. 163), **ēkai ēkahi** (N. p. 8).

(d) Pronouns—**tumahi saū** 'with you yourself' (J. p. 247), **ukhai** 'he himself' (J. p. 321), **ihai** 'this only' (J. p. 286), **soi** 'he himself' (J. p. 41), **sabai** 'everyone' (J. p. 41); **mahi** 'I myself' (T. p. 259), **soi** 'that very' (T. p. 173), **ihai** (T. p. 160), **tei** 'they only' (T. p. 205), **tumahi** 'you only' (T. p. 226), **hamārehi** 'ours only' (T. p. 201), **tumharihi kṛpā** 'by your own favour' (T. p. 207); **tūhi** 'thysself' (N. p. 76), **tumahi** 'you yourself' (N. p. 76), **uhai** (N. p. 2), cf. **uhai** (N. p. 14), **ihai** (N. p. 26).

(f) Verbs—Examples are rare, *jialaht* 'while living' (J. p. 479).

(g) Adverbs—*jañhi* 'whenever' (J. p. 484), *jabahi* 'whenever' (J. p. 19), *tahiai* 'at that very time' (J. p. 110), *ājuhi* 'to-day only' (J. p. 101), *turataht* 'at once' (T. p. 343), *bēgihi* 'at once, soon' (T. p. 175), *taisehi* 'similarly' (T. p. 9), *dūrihi tē* 'from the very far off' (T. p. 287), *abahi* 'just now' (N. p. 4), *tubat* 'then' (N. p. 37), *dūreha* 'far off' (N. p. 159), *āgeht kēri* 'of former times' (N. p. 100), *thikahi* 'just' (N. p. 15).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 379. The affix for this form is -*ai* after a consonantal stem, -*n* after a stem ending in -*i*, -*iz* and *e*, *ex* and -*i* after a stem ending in -*e*, -*ex* or any vowel except -*i* -*iz*. The *e*, *ex* stems, thus, have alternative forms in -*i* and -*n*. The -*u* stems add either -*ai* (*u > w*) or *i*. The long vowel is shortened before the affix.

NOTE.—Affix (-*ai* in the Eastern dialects) is optionally added to stems of one syllable or of two short syllables. If a dissyllabic or a long mono-syllabic stem ends in a consonant, -*ai* only is added (*ghār* : *ghārai* or *ghārañ*, *ghārañ*, *pair* : *pairai*—never *pairañ*).

(a) Nouns—*kitarb* 'book' : *kitarbai* 'the book itself or only the book', *gāru* : *gārwai* or *gāruī*, *raja* : *rajai*, *serthi* *serthin*, *dhorbiz* *dhorbin*, *baruz* *barui*, *pārez* *pāren* or *pārei*, *kutian* *kutianai*.

(b) Adjectives—*laxl* 'red' : *laxlai* 'red only', *karijaz* *karijai*, *nirkj* *nirkin*, *bhaxriz* *bhaxrin*, *garuz* *garuai* or *garui*, *piarez* *piarei* or *piaren*.

(c) Numerals—*erik* 'one' : *erikai* 'one only', *baraz* *barai*, *serthi* *serthin*, *axiz* *axin*, *nau* *nawai* or *nauī*, *nabrez* *nabrei*.

NOTE.—*dui* has regular *duin* and also *duex* (Eastern dialects *duiz*).

(d) Pronouns—If a pronoun has two forms, one long and another short, the affix is added to the long one (e.g., **jor jaun̄**, restrictive **jaunui**). The personal and demonstrative pronouns add **-Añez** (**-Añiz**) as shown below :

<b>mai</b>	<b>mañez</b>	R. B. G. Fy., etc.	<b>mañiz</b>
<b>ham</b>	<b>hamañez</b>	"	<b>hamañiz</b>
<b>tui</b>	<b>toñez</b>	"	<b>tuhiz, tuñiz</b>
<b>tum</b>	<b>tumañez</b>		
<b>uz, waz, wañ</b>	<b>wañai</b>	"	<b>uñiz</b>
<b>ui</b>	<b>wañez</b>	"	<b>wañiz</b>
<b>un</b>	<b>unañez</b>	"	<b>unañiz</b>
<b>iu, jaz, jai</b>	<b>jaiñai</b>	"	<b>jaiñiz</b>
<b>ix</b>	<b>jaiñez</b>	"	<b>jaiñiz</b>
<b>in</b>	<b>inañez</b>	"	<b>inañiz</b>

(e) Postpositions—See § 376 (e). **gñar sez gar** 'went from the house', **uz gñarai (gharañe) sq gar** or **uz gñar sei gar** 'he went from the house itself or from the house only'. The dialectal difference noted in § 376 (e) is observed here also.

(f) Verbs—see § 376 (f). The following are the instances of the Restrictive forms :

<b>derkhat (derkhatj)</b>	<b>dekhotaí</b> (imperf. part.)
<b>derkhar</b>	<b>derkhai</b> (perf. part.)
<b>derkhiz</b>	<b>derkhin</b>
<b>derkhez</b>	<b>derkhen</b> or <b>dekhei</b>
<b>derkhab</b>	<b>dekhabai</b> (verbal noun)
<b>derkhj</b>	<b>derkhin</b> (absolute)

**uz derkhai** 'he may see', **uz dekhibai karai** 'he may see only'; **mai derkheñ** 'I saw', **mai dekhibai kiñeñ** 'I saw only'; **uz derkhiz** 'he will see', **uz dekhibai kariz** 'he will see only'; **ham dekhibaz** 'we shall see', **ham dekhibai karibaz** 'we shall see only'; **mai derkhat hañ** 'I am seeing', **mai dekhotaí hañ** 'I am seeing only'; **mai kiñez hañ** 'I have done', **mai kiñei hañ** 'I have

done only'; **uz giri parax** 'he fell down', **uz girin parax** 'he did fall down, he fell down only'.

(g) Adverbs—**ab**, **tab**, **jab** and **kab** add **-añēx** (**-añīx** Eastern): **abañēx** 'just now', **tabañēx** 'just then', **jabañēx** 'just when', **kabañēx** 'just when?' The aspiration may change place, so that we may have **abañēx** or **abñāēx**. The forms **abñājen**, **tabñājen**, **jabñāen** are double restrictives—as we find **-n** termination super-imposed—but they have no difference in sense from **abñājēx** etc. The forms in Eastern dialects are: **abañīx**, **tabañīx**, **jabañīx** etc. Here also we sometimes find super-imposed forms **abañin**, **tabañin**, **jabañin**. Occasionally one comes across forms such as **abañinai** or **abñāinai** which are further super-imposed forms but have no difference in sense. The regular **-ai** is found in such forms as **abxai**, **kabxai** etc. and in **jaldin** 'soon', **jañāi** 'wherever', **aiśei** 'in this very way', etc.

NOTE.—Sometimes a Restrictive form is followed by the ordinary form, both the forms together indicating the Restrictive sense, e.g., **kitarbai jarīx** 'the books were burnt', **kitabain jarīx** 'only the books were burnt', **kitabain kitarbai jarīx** 'only the books were burnt', **ham axjen** 'I came', **hamañer axjen** 'I only have come', **hamañen aren** (double Restrictive) **hamañen ham axjen** 'only I have come'.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 380. The Restrictive emphatic affix **-i** (Early Awadhi **-hi**) is derived from **-eva** > **ē** > **i**, the **-h** in Early Awadhi as well as in some forms of Modern Awadhi may be due to contamination with the particle **hi**. **eva** has possibly a double treatment, one in **eva** which survives as **-ē** in the adverbs of time, but another in **ē** (cf. 'Amg. *em* = *evam*, Pischel § 149) which appears to be at the basis of the affix here.

The **-n** (old *na*) affix should be connected with Pkt. *nam* found in Ardhamāgadhī for *nūnam* (see Pischel § 150). The adverb **ewaĩ** = *eramava* also contains *eva* as **-i**. The **A-** before the affix **-i** shows that the affix came after a pleonastic suffix in the stem, *viz.*, *ka*.

### Repetition, Reduplication, etc.

#### B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 381. Some grammatical forms are repeated and as such denote the sense of entirety, repeatedness, continuity or intensity.

(a) Nouns, Pronouns and Adjectives—the idea of entirety or plurality is indicated by repeating a noun, pronoun or adjective, *e.g.*, **ham gāru gāru gūrmen** 'I roamed about in many a village', **kutrar kutrar marj gor** 'all that were dogs—all the dogs died', **jox jox arwai ui kar khari ke deru** 'give meals to all those who come', **hariar hariar partar birn leru** 'pick up all the green leaves'.

(b) Numerals—the repetition here is merely for emphasis or to denote the groups, *e.g.*, **chax chax jaxex arjex** 'as many as six—quite unexpectedly—have arrived' or 'people have come in sixes.'

(c) Verbs—the Imperfect participle and the absolutive are repeated to indicate the repeated nature, frequency or continuity of an action, *e.g.*, **derkhadixerkhacraler jaru** 'go on, continuing the action of seeing', **parñij parñij citñhiz dñartj rañar** 'he continued putting away the letters after reading them one after another', **rupajax girj girj parti hai** 'the rupee falls down again and again', **huñj jaxi jaxi kaxm bigaxreu** 'you spoiled the business by going there frequently'.

(d) Adverbs—these are repeated for emphasis, *e.g.*, **jab jab** 'whenever', **jaññj jaññj** 'wherever', **jaixer jaixer** 'as'.

NOTE — If a form followed by its postposition is to be repeated, the postposition is not repeated, it comes only after the second form, e.g., **gāru mo**, repeated **gāru gāru mo**; **derkhai mo**, repeated **derkhai derkhai mo**.

§ 382. The Echo-words or Expletive words begin in Awadhi with **u** : **wa** and **uz** : **waz**, with the former if the first syllable of the real word is short (**Admix udmix** or **Admix wAdmix** 'man etc.') and with the latter if it is long (**roxtix urtix** 'bread etc.', **khazb warb** 'meal etc.'). **wa** instead of **u** is found in a few dialects, e.g., S. and U., while **waz** for **uz** is found only when the first syllable of the real word ends in **-az**. The Echo-word sometimes carries the sense of 'et cet ra' or 'things like that' but more often it is meaningless and appears to give to the speaker only a facility in his current of speech. Generally nouns, adjectives and verbs have the echo-forms.

§ 383. Facility in the current of speech again appears to be at the basis of Reduplication of certain roots. The reduplicated root does not mean anything by itself but its addition to the principal root sometimes does give a shade of intensity of action. In Reduplication, the initial consonant of a root is repeated intact, but the vowel changes. If it is **-A, az** in the principal root, the reduplicated root will have **u, uz**, otherwise the reduplication-vowel is **A, az**. For instance:

**bāzdfiab** : **bāzdfiab būzdfiab** 'to tie completely',  
**carṭab** : **carṭab curṭab** 'to lick', **hāsab** : **hāsab hūsab**  
 'to laugh', **kai** : **kai kui** 'having done', **lai** : **lai lui**  
 'having taken', **jirṭab** : **jirṭab jaxṭab** 'to win',  
**kuzdab** : **kuzdab kaxdab** 'to jump', : **hezrab** : **hezrab**  
**huzrab** 'to search', **sori saxi** 'having slept'.

NOTE.—In actual use we have not been able to detect any marked distinction between the Echo-words and Reduplication. They appear to be two different devices for the same thing.

§ 384. Different from Reduplication are certain forms which go in pairs. Here both the words have independent



meanings, but in combination give an additional idea connoted by both in a general sense, e.g., **hārthir** and **ghorṭax** separately mean 'elephants' and 'horses', but when brought together they not only mean 'elephants and horses' but also other high class conveyances or paraphernalia of a king. Similar expressions are: **borl carl** 'companionship', **joxr toxr** 'contrivances', **naxr kurd** 'merriments', '**kherl tamisax** 'shows and spectacles', **rupajax paisax** 'money', **maxr karṭ** 'slaughter', **dezb lezb** 'to give and to take, i.e., mutual help', **hagab mustab** 'to ease oneself and to urinate, i.e., affairs not fit to be mentioned in decent society', **naḥarḥ dhorwab** 'to bathe and to wash, i.e., to clean oneself', **karnax phūrsir** 'secret talk', **kharḥ piab** 'eating and drinking', etc.

### C. ORIGIN

§ 385. Repetition of a word is a normal feature in Sanskrit and MIA, e.g., **deṣṭ, deṣṭ** 'in every country', **pitṛā pitṛā** 'having drunk again and again', **yadā yadā** 'whenever'.

Echo-words are found in Mod. IA throughout as well as in Dravidian (see Chatterji, p. 176) and they serve only as a help in the current of speech. Such a thing is not likely to find a place in literary works, however; we have found only one instance in Early Awadhi: **chanda wanda** (*Awadha Bilāsa*, leaf 9b).

Similarly Reduplication is another device taken up for facility in speech and is found in other Mod. IA languages as well (see Chatterji § 775). People do require some such supports (called *takia-e-kalām* in Persian, meaning, literally, 'pillow of speech') and sometimes a whole clause is introduced, e.g., 'isn't it' or 'you know' in English and **mai baxt kaḥeū** 'I say', **jaxneu ki naxi** 'isn't it', **hā warāḥ bḥarir** 'O Yes, brother!' in Awadhi. These devices are restricted strictly to spoken languages, mostly to slang, and do not find place in written language.

## CHAPTER X

### WORD ORDER

#### A. EARLY AWADHI

§ 386. Unfortunately no prose works are available. The only prose piece that is found is the arbitration deed said to have been written by Tulsi-kṛs as an arbitrator to settle the dispute about the division of the property of Rājā Tōḍarmal after his death. The language of deeds is generally archaic and formal and so is also of this deed (*Tulsi Granthāvalī*, Part III, pages 36—38). The following sentences show the order:

*āgē jē āgya dunahu janē māgā jē āgya bhai sē pramāna mānā dunahu janē . . . . . likhitaṁ ananda rāma jē ūpara likhā sē sahī* 'previously whatever order both the persons wanted (and) which order was put that has been accepted by both the persons . . . written by Anandarāma whatever is written above is correct.'

Here *āgē* adverb is quite in order with modern usage. The precedence of the object (*jē āgya*) before the subject, as well as the putting of the subject (*dunahu janē*) at the end are emphatic in such cases and are similarly found in the modern language as well. The order of words thus does not differ from that found in Modern Awadhi (see below § 388).

§ 387. As in Modern Awadhi so in the old language, the normal order of words is often violated. For instance :

(a) subject coming after the verb, *jabahi caḍhahi puhumī pati, sērasāhi juga-sūra* 'whenever Shēr Shāh, the hero of the world, the king of the (whole) Earth, attacks' (J. p. 19), *mukufa bādhi saba baiḥā rājā* 'all the kings sat with their crowns on' (J. p. 72), *bōlī apara kahehu sakhi nikā* 'the other said: friend, (you) have well said' (T. p. 97), *pura pūraba disi gē dou bhāi* 'both the brothers went to the Eastern part of the city' (T. p. 97), *kaha māruta-suta sunahu prabhu* 'the son of the Air-god said: my lord, hear' (T. p. 375); *dīnhā utara mahipa biyōgī* 'the love-lorn king gave the answer' (N. p. 25), *kahā ratana sō ēkī sahēlī* 'a friend said to Ratana' (N. p. 90), *karaba mat sēvā* 'I shall do the service' (N. p. 32).

(b) object after the verb, *kinhesi dharafi saraga patārū* 'He created the Earth, the sky and the nether world' (J. p. 2), *dēkhi sāsū āna anuhārī* 'saw the mothers-in-law much different' (T. p. 245), *sunī siya sapana bharī jalu ḍcana* 'on hearing Sitā's dream (his) eyes were filled with water (tears)' (T. p. 245), *likhi pāfi cētā kahā dīnhā* 'she wrote the letter and gave it to Cētā' (N. p. 73), *lakhai na aiguna dēkhai sōbhā* '(he) does not look at (your) evils (and) sees (your) beauty' (N. p. 167).

(c) adjectival epithet after the noun, *pitā hamāra* 'my father' (J. p. 87), *jōbana mōra* 'my youth' (J. p. 87), *ḍipa dui* 'two lamps' (J. p. 193), *kou kaha sonkara cāpa kaṭhōrā* 'some one said that Siva's bow was hard' (T. p. 97), *kūnunu kaṭhina bhayanākara bhārī* 'the forest is difficult (to pass through), terrifying and huge' (T. p. 181), *muni gyānī* 'the well-versed sages' (T. p. 264), *bōlē bāni sanēha suhāi* '(he) spoke words beautiful owing to affection' (T. p. 277), *kari lei calā parāna hamārā* 'he has taken my life and is gone' (N. p. 25), *auguna bharī sarīra hamārī* 'my body is full of evils' (N. p. 105), *pai tumhārī akhiyā matavārī hama kaha khitca surā disa ānat* 'but your bewitching eyes, draw me and bring me towards wine' (N. p. 176).

## B. MODERN AWADHI

§ 388. The Awadhi sentence normally is small; it contains four or five words. Complex ideas are expressed by combining together several sentences by means of conjunctions or adverbial expressions.

The normal order of words is :

Subject, object, verb; *e.g.*, **mai du:ḍḥā pīḥā** 'I shall drink milk'. A sentence may contain only the subject and the verb, *e.g.*, **mai jāiḥā** 'I shall go'. In connected speech any of the above may be understood, so that, in effect, a sentence may contain either the subject only, or the verb or the object. The adjectival adjuncts normally precede the noun or pronoun that they qualify attributively. Predicatively, however, they come after the noun or pronoun qualified as shown above (§ 224). The adverbial adjuncts generally come immediately before the verb, but adverbs of time and place are found, quite frequently, placed after the subject. Normally the indirect object precedes the direct object.

§ 389. The normal order of words in the language is, however, not rigidly fixed. Except for the postpositions which must follow the noun or pronoun concerned, other parts of speech may have a different order for emphasis and for expression of emotion. The subject may come at the end of a sentence, *e.g.*, **ta hūa te cal diḥin ui** 'then he started from there', **jardar na ljarb ham** 'I shall not take more'. The vocative generally precedes the subject (*e.g.*, **razmīz ham tau pijarxer baḥut han** 'O Queen, I am very thirsty', **tau laḡikīz boḥlīz naḥḥīz razjar biḥz na pīau** 'then the girl said: no king! do not drink water here'), but it may follow the subject sometimes (*e.g.*, **ham dardar tumarīz bḥarḡī sḡ kharitī** 'Father! I live—lit. eat—owing to your good fortune'). The adjectival epithet normally precedes the noun, but for emphasis it may follow it (*e.g.*, **maḥḥotaxrīz kīz tanar arḡī laḡḡī ḡai jar**

'O Mother, how did this fire come about to catch (the house)', **ui t̥hagaunax saxtau daurex caler arwaĩ** 'those seven highway robbers were coming on, running'.

§ 390. The object normally comes between the subject and the verb, but for emphasis or when it is the particular topic of talk, it may come at the beginning (e.g., **sor haxr ham erk aurat ko dai diru** 'that necklace, I gave away to a woman') or at the end (e.g., **tau mai dai qarreu rupaxar** 'then I gave away the money', **gorbar bñarij kaj diñiaj ham kar** 'he gave to me filled with dung'). The direct object may, in similar circumstances, precede the indirect, e.g., **kāñin na hoxi laxo thoxxax khaxi lexix thoxxax jabu ko dai dexix** '(she) said: let it be, let me eat a little and give a little to this one also'. The adjectival epithet of the object may be separated thus by the intervention of the verb, e.g., **jax iz kir khar̥t̥j hai kamaxi** 'he earns his livelihood by it' where **iz kir** was expected near **kamaxi**.

§ 391. Of all the parts of a sentence, the adverbial adjunct has the least fixed place. In the same sentence one adjunct may be after the subject and another before the verb, e.g., **ui maxrex guxta k̥ roxt̥iz d̥eñarija mo d̥axr̥j dexĩ** 'she, on account of anger, used to throw the bread in the big jar' where **maxrex guxta k̥** comes after the subject and **d̥eñarija mo** before the verb; or **choxt̥ bñaxix jñat̥io baɣex bñaxi ko kursix par baithaxrix̥j** 'the younger brother, soon, seated the elder brother on a chair' where **jñat̥io** comes after the subject and **kursix par** before the verb. Sometimes, particularly when the subject is inanimate, the adverb may come even before the subject (e.g., **tau hñax baɣax halax macax** 'then there rose up a great uproar') or after the verb (e.g., **gai rañai ui waxr** '(she) had gone to that side').

§ 392. The verb normally comes at the end of the sentence, but it may precede the subject (e.g., **rañu tui**

' remain thou '), or the object (*e.g.*, **kaz kiñisj ki nikazrisj tarwazrj** ' what did (he) do? that he drew out the sword ', **tau Añcinj tarawazrj ki iz kaz mazdžaribaz** ' then (he) drew the sword : that I shall kill her '). This is merely for emphasis. When there are two verbs in a sentence, that of the absolutive clause normally precedes the principal verb, *e.g.*, **gulgular jñārpj ke dñarj diñinj** ' (she) covered up the cakes and put them aside ' where the first clause is absolutive and the second principal. The absolutive of **arwab** ' to come ' or **jazb** ' to go ', however, when it is unaccompanied by its postposition always comes after the principal verb, *e.g.*, **hñar khazu jazj** ' go and eat there ', **iu karmj karan ari** ' come and do this thing '. In compound verbs the principal normally precedes the accessory, but for emphasis the order may be reversed, *e.g.*, **tau liñinj chiznj** ' then (he) snatched away ', **Au iñj lezu lai** ' and take up a brick '.

§ 393. The Conjunction (**ki**, **mula**, etc.) or the conjunctive epithet (**tañi kai** ' then ', etc.) introduces a sentence connected with the previous sentence. The reported speech is normally direct and may or may not be introduced by the particle **ki**, *e.g.*, **tab waz lañikiz kañisj jaz Āguzñhir tau hamarez bazp ki hai** ' then that girl said this ring is my father's ', **tab kañinj ki jaz Āguzñhir ham kaz dezu** ' then (she) said: give this ring to me '. In connected narrative speech the last portion of a sentence may be repeated to introduce the next sentence, *e.g.*, **tab duñdau pardex ke erk erk gñorñ po caññi kai cal diñinj** ' then both mounted on one horse each and started for foreign land ', **cal diñinj tau erk ðhagan ke purawa me añez jazj** ' then when started, they reached a village of robbers ', **un kiz saraññojin dirkb** ' his sisters-in-law saw (him) ', **tau dirkb tau un kañai lañgñ** ' then when (they) saw (him) they began to say '.

Instances of the indirect report are, however, sometimes found, though very rarely, e.g., **gopāl hari sē bātāsiḥ ki saṅkaṭāz tumāz ṭāpkāz corāziniḥ hai** 'Gopal told Hari that Saṅkaṭā had stolen his mangoes' but **gopāl māli seḥ kāsisiḥ ki tum hamāz ṭāpkāz corājeu** 'Gopāl told me that you stole my mangoes'.

§ 394. The subject may be a noun, a pronoun, or an adjective (with the noun understood). As noted above (§ 175) a subject may take a plural number (indicated by the verb being in the plural) to show respect. In connected speech the same subject may be in the singular or the plural in clauses side by side, e.g., **wāz āgusṭhiḥ lai kai āpaner gfiar gai āpaniḥ māḥetāriḥ ko dekhāziniḥ jai** 'she took the ring and went home (and) showed (it) to her mother', where **gai** shows a singular subject and **dekhāziniḥ** a plural one; **tau eik jāfiar ki purijāz phiriḥ ghoḥrisiḥ, jfiatse wāfiāi loṭijāz gfiāz gfiutṭ māriḥ ko rāzja ko dihiḥ** 'then she again dissolved a small packet of poison, (and) soon drawing the veil she gave the same cup to the king' where **gfiōrisiḥ** and **dihiḥ** show a difference of number. Such instances are quite frequent in every day speech. Not only this, when subjects are understood, different subjects may be understood in different clauses of the same sentence, e.g., **pāfiḥer bāt banāi gai ābtimē ḍāriḥ māriḥ** 'at first (she) explained it away, this time (he) will kill (us) outright', where the subject of **banāi gai** is 'the daughter of the demon' and of **ḍāriḥ māriḥ** 'the demon himself'. The difference of number may be visible in the same sentence, e.g., **māi gofiāri lagāi ko pakāren** 'I raised an alarm and caught him' where **māi** (singular) is connected with **pakāren** (plural). The expected verb was **pakāreḥ**. Such wrong grammar, however, is not frequent.

§ 395. If a verb has a subject in different genders, the gender of the nearest subject is taken up by the verb, and the number is plural, e.g., **māḥetāriḥ pust. hai**

**rañer jaxi** 'the mother and the son reached (the place)' where **rañer** agrees in gender with **past** and not with **mañabairiz**. Similarly **pairbatiz mañabaderu dumiñ ki cinta ko nikarex** 'Pārvatī and Mahādeva started to look after the world', **kumñaxr au kumñaxrinj maññiz nikaxrai axiz** 'the potter and his wife came to dig out earth'.

§ 396. When two pronouns of different persons stand as the subject, the order is 1st, 2nd, 3rd and the verb also agrees with the 1st in preference to the 2nd or 3rd and with the 2nd in preference to the 3rd, e.g., **axer ham tum khaxiz** 'Come let us eat', **ham tum bajaxrai jaibax** 'You and I shall go to the market', **tum ui pakareu** 'he and you caught'.

§ 397. The subject of a passive or causal clause is put before the subject of the simple clause, e.g., **ux lañikax kuchu galtiz kifisij** 'that boy committed some mistake'—active, **ui lañika sq kuchu galtiz hoi gai** 'some mistake was committed by that boy'—passive, where **ux lañikax** is the subject of the active construction while **ui lañika sq** is the agentive phrase in the passive construction; similarly **raxm gopaxi ko painiz piaxisij** '(he) caused Gopāl to drink water through Rām'.

§ 398. In poetry and songs, the normal order of words is found generally disturbed, e.g., **jataniz bjaxr hari kino kax gaxjai kino kax lai kai narū** 'at this time whom shall I sing about, whose name shall I take'—here **narū** (object) would normally be put before **lai kai**; **kaxi narū ui guruz tumñaxrex** 'what is the name of your preceptor?'—here **tumñaxrex** (adjective) should have preceded **guruz**; **bhitar te nikaxiz jaxoxmati maxter** 'mother Yaśōdā came out from the inner apartments'—here **jaxoxmati maxter** (subject) would precede **nikaxiz**.



## C. ORIGIN

§ 399. 'Like all languages that possess a rich store of inflections, Sanskrit affords a comparatively great freedom as to the order of words in the sentence' (Speijer: *Sanskrit Syntax* § 15). In the Sanskrit word the morphemes were combined with the semanteme so that each word was a unit by itself and carried with it its full significance. Hence the order of words did not matter for the connotation of the meaning. In spite of this we find a certain order generally—subject—object—verb; the attribute precedes the noun, the vocative generally heads the sentence (*ibid*, § 16). We find that this general order has been kept up more or less throughout modern Indo-Aryan [see Bloch: *Langue Marathe*, (p. 268), Chatterji: *Origin and Development of Bengali*, (p. 176)]. Only there is this difference between Sanskrit and modern IA, that in the former the terminations expressed the morphemes of case, number, gender, person, tense etc., while in modern IA some of these are expressed by postpositions or other form-words. Just as the morphemes necessarily accompanied the semanteme then (being incorporated in the word), similarly in Mod. IA they accompany the semanteme (closely following it). Granted this, the word-order is the same. For instance:

Skt. *devadattaḥ* | *kaṣam* | *karoti* |

Hindi *dervadatṛ* | *caṭariz* | *banartarhai* |

'Devadatta | mat | makes'.

Here no harm would be done if the words of the Sanskrit sentence change their places as the morphemes are incorporated in the semantemes; but normally the Hindi sentence would keep the order because the morphemes are not manifest. However, as shown above, the order may change sometimes in poetry, or even in prose for emphasis and there the context will be the only indicator of the syntactical relation. Let us take another case:

Skt. *viṣapāt | patrāṇi | kṣaranti |*

Awadhi *birawa sṣ | partax | jḥaratḥ haĩ |*

'From the tree | leaves | fall off'.

The three elements of the sentence in either languages may be changed without causing any confusion in sense. Or take another sentence :

Skt. *tataḥ | rāmaḥ | sitayā sārḍham | vanam | jagāma*

Awadhi *tau | ra:m | sirtax sangḥ | ban kar | calax gaer*

'Then | Rām | with Sītā | to the forest | went'.

Here also the sense will not be confused if the order of the various parts of the sentence is changed.

The word-order, thus, in essentials has remained the same in modern IA as in OIA.

FINIS



## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX I

### SPECIMENS OF EARLY AWADHI (UNPUBLISHED) TEXTS

(a) Awadhī Bilāsa

(b) Prēma Pragāsa

(c) Gura Anyāsa

(d) Yūsuf Zulekhā

## (a) Awadha Bilāsa<sup>1</sup>

Page 1.

*Śrī Gaṇeśāya Namaḥ*

*Śrī pustaka Avadha Bilāsa likhyutē  
dōhā*

*Bēda ukti anubhava jugati  
Jñāna ratana kī khāni  
Lāla gupta ehu pragata kie  
Audha Bilāsa bakhāni.*

*Audha Bilāsa samudra hai  
Sāhu sādhu taṭa jāhi  
Katuna kathā Raghubīra kī  
Lāla buhuta tā māhi.*

*Lālu ruccha traitōka kō  
darupana Audha Bilāsa  
Jō jaisahi hoi dēkhihai  
Tā kaha tairā bhāsa.*

*Saba hī ruci nahi ēka hai  
Hākhū kachū sohāe  
Tā tō mai buhu mata racē  
Audha Bilāsa banāe.*

*Pragaṭen Avadha Bilāsa ghanu  
Bidyā jñāna apāru  
Kkulē khajānē lāla kō  
Lāla hṛdaya bhaṇḍāru.*

*Rāga raṅga rata Rāma sō  
Nau rasa jñāna prakāsa  
Jasa prabhutā jaga maha calai  
Tau paṣu Avadha Bilāsa.*

<sup>1</sup> Text from a copy (in the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad) of the manuscript described in the Introduction above §6.

## Translation

### Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa

#### Audha Bilāsa begins

The Vēdas, apt sayings, experiences, devices, a mine of precious stones of knowledge, Lāla says, these are hidden, (but) he has made these manifest by having composed the Audha Bilāsa.

The Audha Bilāsa is an ocean, whose (two) ends are *sāhu* (the trading class), and *sādhu* (the religious mendicant class). Gems of the story of Rāma, Lāla says, are abundantly found in it.

The Audha Bilāsa is a bright mirror for (reflecting) the three worlds. Whoever will look in it in whatever mood, he will find it reflecting similarly.

All tastes are not alike ; some like certain things (while others like a different thing). This is why I have included in the Audha Bilāsa, many shades of thought.

The cloud of the Audha Bilāsa has made manifest boundless knowledge and wisdom, and has opened in the storehouse of Lāla's mind, treasures of precious stones (of beautiful thoughts).

Love, sport, devotion to Rāma, the nine sentiments, and the light of knowledge, all those qualities which rule the world, have been cleverly incorporated in the Audha Bilāsa.



*Koū kāhu ki bāta suni  
 Lagē sarāhana tāhi  
 Avadha Bilāsahi enho paḍhai  
 Tau kō acaraja āhi.*

*Bhuktanha kaha hayu bhukta ehu  
 Rasikanha kō rasa rūpa  
 Jhāni kō hai jhāna yuha  
 Audha Bilāsa anūpa.*

*Bahuta kathā bahu grantha ki  
 Ukti anūṣha ananta  
 Paḍhihai jō sō hōihaya  
 Kahata Lāla gunavanti.*

*Kāhō kō bahutai cuhai  
 Pōthi bhāra anēku  
 Saba guna mē kina rākhiyē  
 Avadha Bilāsahi yōku.*

*Raghubamsi Raghubamsa jē  
 Lacakusa bamsu prukāsa  
 Tinha kō Lāla bisēkha  
 Paḍhibō Audha Bilāsa.*

*Pōthi Audha Bilāsa ki  
 paḍhatahi sunata sohāta  
 Āe milata hai bahuta tuhā  
 Lāla bāta para bāta.*

*Kamalanha jō ruci māni uli  
 Taji tuji āna nevāsa  
 Lāla rasika jē hōhigē  
 Paḍhihai Avadha Bilāsa.*

P. 2.

*Jō eha Avadha Bilāsa kō  
 Gāvai kari bisrānu  
 Tā kē hiya mahu hōe kē  
 Sunihai Sitā Rāma.*

Some one begins to admire things on hearing from some one else; what wonder if he reads them in the Avadha Bilāsa.

To the devotees, this unparalleled Audha Bilāsa is devotion itself, to the men of feeling, it is an embodiment of sentiments, and to the wise, it is knowledge.

He, who will read numerous stories from various books, and innumerable apt sayings, says Lāla, will become a man of qualities.

But, why should one so much like the burden of numerous volumes of books? Why should not one keep, for all these qualities, the Avadha Bilāsa alone?

Of all those born in the line of Raghu, Lava and Kuśa were luminaries of the line; in the Avadha Bilāsa, Lāla, you will read about them at length.

As you read the book of Audha Bilāsa, or hear it, you begin to like it, for therein you occasionally meet with numerous apt sayings.

As the black bee likes to dwell in the lotus, leaving aside other abodes, similarly those, who are men of feeling, will read the Avadha Bilāsa (leaving aside other compositions).

In the heart of him who sings this Avadha Bilāsa with ease, Śitā and Rāma will sit and hear (the Avadha Bilāsa).

*Racana racana mukhā ratana*  
*Kūda kalā itihāsa*  
*Lāla hēma kutakā racē*  
*Bhūkhana Avadha Bilāsa.*

*Abhūkhana hai bhagata kō*  
*Rāmadāmu guna hiru*  
*Lāla alaṅkṛta dekhi hai*  
*Rājkhata hai Raghubīra.*

*Grantha grantha para miba karatu*  
*Lēta grantha ki chāha*  
*Lāla koi anabhava .....*  
*Rāma kṛpā ki bāha.*

*Rāmāena satakōṣi hai*  
*Rāmahi jānata tāhi*  
*Jō kachu pragata na gupatahi*  
*Rākhata nāgari nāri.*

*Jāni bājhi nāhi dharata*  
*Koṭhina arathu kō daura*  
*Rāma nāma jō jakta mahe*  
*Grantha calaya saba jhaura.*

*Gūḍha kāvya Jayadēva kabi*  
*Tulasi Sūra bakhāna*  
*Kṛṣṇa Bidyāpati bikata*  
*Lāla sarala mana mānu.*

*Bālai saba Brahmāṇḍa ki*  
*Raṅg Lāla mana āni*  
*Bisva rūpa jē bisvamai*  
*Audha Bilāsaahi jāna*

*Adṛṣṭa bāta apashita asṛta*  
*Alapa jūāna jehi dēha*  
*Tā kō Audha Bilāsa rasa*  
*Aṣṭapaṭa lāgahi dēha.*

With the pearls and precious stones of beautiful sayings, the *kūda* (*kunda* flower?) of art and history, and the gold of *kūtaka* (probably *kūṭaka* 'tricky compositions' or *kautuka* 'pleasures'), Lāla has prepared this ornament of the Avadha Bilāsa.

This is an ornament for the devotee, being a string of diamonds of the qualities of Rāma. Lāla says, Rāma is pleased to see one decorated with this ornament.

All place one book upon the other (in the matter of authority), and take the shelter of books (in their reasonings), but here is Lāla's practical experience, for Rāma has placed his kind hand upon him.

The Rāmāyaṇa (story of Rāma) is a hundred-crore-fold, only Rāma knows it, as the clever woman gives out something, and always keeps it a secret.

Knowingly and wilfully, I do not compose in it anything hard to understand, so that my book may be popular at all places, like the name of Rāmā.

For poetry difficult to appreciate, Jayadēva, Tulāsī and Sūra are well-known; and, Keśava and Vidyāpati are simply prolix, while Lāla is as easy as one would like.

Lāla has commented upon all the subjects of the Universe. Whatever the Universe is, or whatever the Universe is contained of, all that you will find to be identical with the Audha Bilāsa.

To him, who has seen little, read little, and heard little, who has little knowledge in his self the pleasure of reading the Audha Bilāsa seems meaningless.

*Panjāta hai sō jāni hai*  
*Kathā prasaṅgu prahīna*  
*Mūrakhu mana maha māni hai*  
*Lāla kahā eka kīna.*

*Tīrutha avadha je avadha hai*  
*Rāma avadha antāra*  
*Taisō bhākhā kī avadha*  
*Audha Bilāsa apāra.*

*Dōe dōha hai Avadha kē*  
*Sukṣima thūla prakāsa*  
*Dhāma rūpa asthūla hai*  
*Sukṣima Audha Bilāsa.*

*Jō eha Avadha Bilāsa kō*  
*Avadhahi jānai kōi*  
*Tā kō sunatahi hōti hai*  
*Avadha gaē phala sōi.*

*kai kou jānata santa jana*  
*Rāma janāvahi jāhi.*

.....

*Śvāratha paramārtha binasai*  
*Bāni Lāla prakāsa*  
*sō vai bātī kavana hai*  
*Jō nahi Avadha Bilāsa.*

F. 3.

*Bhīkarana mōhanu kṣkhaṇa*  
*Sabodāvana guṇa nēka*  
*.....mantra saṁsāra mahu*  
*Avadha Bilāsa hai ēka.*

*Paranābhī basi mā hṛdaya*  
*Madhyā kaṇṭhahi mūhi*  
*...hara pragaṭa su baikhari*  
*Bāni cāri kahāhi.*

He, who is wise, and is clever at stories and discourses, will know its worth ; and, he, who is stupid, will think ' what has Lāla done here ?'

As Avadha is the end of all the holy places, and as Rāma is the end of all the incarnations (of the supreme), so also the endless Audha Bilāsa is the end of the vernacular (compositions).

Avadha has two bodies obviously, *sūkṣma* or the inner, and *sthūla* or the outer, and the shrine is the outer one, while the Audha Bilāsa is the inner one.

Whoever accepts this Avadha Bilāsa with the belief that it is Avadha itself, he reaps the advantages of visiting the holy shrine by only hearing the Avadha Bilāsa.

Either certain saints know this fact, whom Rāma makes aware of it,                   ...                   ...                   ...

The message of Lāla covers both the fields: egoistic, and the altruistic. What are those subjects that are not contained in the Avadha Bilāsa ?

The art of subduing, of alluring and of attracting, all these have many good qualities ; but in the world of master-charms, the Avadha Bilāsa is unique.

*Paranābhi* dwells in the heart, *madhyā* in the throat, in . . . (?) appears the *baikhari*, these are said to be the four varieties of the speech.

*Bhākhā ārakhi mānukhi  
 Haikhārī paramāna  
 Ārakhi kahū Samsakṣta  
 Bhākhā mānukha jānu.*

*Sudilha prangṭa laukika bayann  
 Suni samujhūi naba kōi  
 Kaphina sabda hai Samsakṣtu  
 Bhākhā kahū sōi.*

*Dēsi Prākṣta Samsakṣta  
 Pārasi yārabi jānu  
 Jaha jaha jāki Lāla kahi  
 Bhākhā sabukhi jāna.*

*Ihai jāni bāni bimala  
 Kokuta Lāla sudha buddhu  
 Kaphina kabya ehn Samsakṣtu.  
 Bhākhā kahiyē sudilha.*

*Gū!hahi bhulī na prakāśi  
 Bāni Lāla biyāja.*

.....  
 .....

*Navu Bilāsa diṭha guna bhayō  
 Patita pāra kṣta kāja  
 Lāla sindhu samsāra maha  
 Avadha Bilāsa jahāja.*

*Sai paṇḍita sai sādhu kō  
 Jē tē saṅga bakhāna  
 Tā tē Avadha Bilāsa kō  
 Lāla pa!hō hoi jhānu.*

*Sambata sattencha sui burakha  
 Sudī Bamsākhu sukāla  
 Lāla Avadha madhi rahi raci  
 Audha Bilāsa risāta.*

*Baikhārī* of human beings has got the following varieties. *ārakhī* (S. *ārā*) or of the gods, and *bhākhā* or vernacular. *Ārakhī* is otherwise named as *Saṁskṛta*, and *mānukhī* as *bhākhā*.

Pure and open are the earthly discourses (conducted in *bhākhā*), which everyone understands when he hears them, while *Saṁskṛta* is full of difficult words. These are called the (two-fold varieties of) language.

Dēśī, *Prākṛta*, *Saṁskṛta*, *Pārusī*, and *Yārabi*, i.e., the Arabic, know each one (of these) to be a language. Lāla says, wherever whichever (of these) may be in use, that is *Bhākhā*.

Being aware of this fact, Lāla uses, knowingly, the pure dialect (i.e., *bhākhā*). Difficult poetry is composed in the *Saṁskṛta*, while poetry of easy construction is done in the *bhākhā*.

It is not proper to make the secret manifest through language. ... ..

The new *Bilāsa* of substantial worth has proved to be a ship in the ocean of the world, for carrying the fallen across it.

As much as one is said to gain in the company of a hundred wise men, and a hundred saints, the same amount of knowledge he can also gain by reading the *Avadha Bilāsa*.

In the *Sambata* year 1700, in the auspicious bright half of *Baisākha*, staying in *Avadha*, Lāla composed the tasteful *Andha Bilāsa*.



## caupāi

*Prathumahi gura Ganapati siru nāvō  
Puni Hari Hara Surasāṁ manāvō.*

*Jau ei kṛpā kaṭākṣanka hōrē  
Tau kachu jñāna hōi jiya mērē.*

*Bṛuhmā Bēda ādi Muhāmāyā  
Pranavō tāhi jakta jinha jāyā.*

*Sanaka Sanātana Sanayakumārā  
Ara Sananda cāri parukārā.*

*Bālaka rūpa rahai Bṛuhmgyāni  
Jivannukta nirāabhimāni.*

*Ādi bhakti jē Śrī Hari pyāri  
Bandava tāhi bhagati bistāri.*

*Pranavō Pāratha Prabhu kē saṅgi  
Hari samāna bapu rūpa saraṅgi.*

*Bandau cāri mukti haya vōi  
Pāvata bhagata avara nahi kōi.*

## P. 4.

*Eka satōka sāmīpa soḥāi  
Eka sājujasārūpa kuhāi.*

*Indrādika dōvatā jētē  
Mō para kripā karuhu saba tētē.*

*Hōhu dayāla dasau dṛgapālā  
Graha titha payu tata krama kālā.*

*Cāri khāni kē jē jatū prāni  
Siddha sādhu mūrokhā aru gyāni.*

*Aṇḍaja svēdaja jarāēja jānā  
Udbhija khāni e cāri bakhānā.*

*Avedha Bilāsu kathā mana māni  
Baranō tāhi dōku mohi bāni.*

In the very beginning, I bow to my preceptor, and to Gaṇapati; then, I pray to Hari, Hara, and Sarasvatī; for if these looked at me with kindly glances, some knowledge will grow in my heart.

I bow to Brahmā, and the Vēdas, and the basic Mahāmāyā, who begot the world. I bow to Sanaka, Sanātana, Sanatkuṁāra, and Sanandana, the four sages.

Who knowing the Brahṁa, live in the guise of boys; who are bondless in this life, and who are free from vanity. Then, I bow to the basic Devotion, Śrī, the spouse of Hari, with considerable devotion.

I bow to Pārtha, the comrade of the Lord, whose body and appearance were similar to those of the Lord. I bow to the four-fold scheme of salvation, which devotees alone get, and none others.

One is Sālōkya, or attaining the same region with the Lord, the other is Sānīpya, or attaining proximity to the Lord, the third is Sāyujya, or being one with the Lord and the fourth is Sārūpya, or being of the same appearance with the Lord. All the gods including Indra, be ye all kind to me.

Ye, all the ten regents of the directions, planets, *tithas* (*tithis*?), *paya* (?), *krama* (?) and Time, be ye all kind to me. All the creatures of the four-fold creation, *siddhas*, and the mendicant class, the foolish and the wise, I bow to you all.

*Andaja* or born initially in the form of egg, *svēdaja* or born of perspiration of the body, *jarāyuja* or born from the womb, and *udbhija* or plants, these are the four main types of creatures. I describe the story of the Avadha Bilāsa in my own way, give me voice (for it).

*Nārada Byāsa Baṁṣṭa bakhānā*  
*Pārāsara Sukadēva sayānā.*

*Bhāradvāja rikhi Bālamika muni*  
*Kaśi...pa Bivrāmītra Atri puni.*

*Gautama Saunaku aurā Pulastī*  
*Saubhari Suraguru Sukra Agastī.*

*Durbāsā Bhṛṅgu Pitrana Sulāmnā*  
*Inha sabohinḥa kaha karau prajānāmū.*

*Dhrubā Prahlāda bhakti siratājā*  
*Ambarīka Kṛpamāṅgata rājā.*

*Bali Jaṭṭa Bhurato au Janaka Bīdēhi*  
*Bhagatī Bibhīkhana Rāma sanēhi.*

*Baranau Hanūmāna dukha bādhaka*  
*Rāma bhagata sabahi sukha sādḥaka.*

*Araṇjuna Udhau Bidura samētā.*  
*Rāmānanda ādi bhaṣ jētā*

*Bandau gōpa gōpikā nārī*  
*Banakuñjana Hari saṅga bihārī.*

*Bidhu Maṅgata Jayadēva sayānā*  
*Candrahāsa Hari kē manā mīnā.*

*Jinḥa kē hiṭ Rāma bivrāmā*  
*Tinḥa kē Lāla karata paranāma.*

*Paṇḍita jē bakatā kabirāi*  
*Aru jō kathā sunoya muna lāi.*

*Tinḥa sō binaya karan kara jōrī*  
*Suni mama granṭha dēhu jani hōrī.*

*Jō kachhu cūka mōhi hoi pārī*  
*Tau tumḥu Ņjahu tāhi sudhārī.*

*Jo bigarō parakāja savārāya*  
*Te apand paratōka sudhārāya.*

Nārada, Vyāsa, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, wise Śukadēva, sages Bharadvāja and Vālmiki, Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, and Atri,

Gautama, Śaunaka and Pulastya, Śaumbhari, Suragura (Bṛhaspati), Śukra, and Agastya, Durvāsas, Bhṛgu. Pivana (?), and Sudāmā, I bow to these all.

Dhruva and Prahlāda, the crown of the devotees. Ambarīṣa and king Rukmāṅgada. Bali, Jaḍa Bhurata, bodyless Janaka, and the devotee Bibhīṣapa, the lover of Rāma (I bow to these all).

I appraise the pain-ending Hanumāna, who is a devotee of Rāma, and a means for the attainments of all the comforts. I bow to Arjuna, Uddhava, Vidura, Rāmānanda, and all others who have been devotees.

I bow to the Gopas, and the Gopikā maidens, who roamed in the groves in the company of the Lord. Lāla bows to the Moon, the Mars, the wise Jayadēva, and the Candrahāsa, the pet of Hari, the persons in whose hearts Rāma abides.

To the wise men, the speakers, the great poets, and to those who hear this story attentively, I bow to them all with folded hands, that they may not drown my book when they have heard it.

If I might have committed any mistake, you will correct it. and accept my composition. One who corrects the mistake of another, makes his place secure in the other world.

## dohā

Gyāni guna suni kō karai  
 Pañḍita karaya bicāra.  
 . . . Lāla bhalē nuhi  
 Jhagarā karahi ki māru.

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## caupāi

Yā bidhi rājā rikhihi livāi  
 Nagara Ajodhyā pahucē āi.  
 Ulima māsa devasa jaba jānā  
 Putra iṣṭa taba jagyahi ṣṭhānā.  
 Sāgaru chira jahā ārambhā  
 Gādē jāe jagyu kō khambhā.  
 Badē badē muni rikhi an rājā  
 Ae jurē jahā badō samājā.  
 Bēda bihita saba bidhi bistārā  
 Dāna diē kō ganaya apārā.  
 Kausilyā Kēkai Sumāni  
 Bayaṣṭhē gāṣṭhi jōri nriya rānī.  
 Sundara jagya bēdi mana mohai  
 Tāpara agini dēvatā sōhai.  
 Aura jagya samagrihi sājā  
 Tē bahutai lē bayasṭheu rājā.  
 Pañca ratana habi gabi hai jētā  
 Pañcāmṛta sāmīdha samētā.  
 Patra puhupa phala batana anēkā  
 Patra dhāta gandha bibidhi bibēkā.  
 Mōli mūgā kunaka anūpā  
 Pañca ratana ēi cuni rūpā.  
 Tila jau dhāna ghīva guḷa lēi  
 Khīra supāri hēma draba ēi.

Who would bother himself with the qualities of a wise man? Paṇḍita alone ponders over these . . . it is not good . . . either to quarrel or to make a fuss over it.

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Thus, the king, accompanied by the sage, reached the city of Ajodhya; when he knew the month and the day to be auspicious, he commenced the performance of the sacrifice, *Putresā* (for obtaining a male issue).

Where the sea of milk began from, he fixed the pillars of the sacrifice. In that great congregation, all the great saints, sages, and kings assembled.

The king performed all the rituals as commanded by the Vēdas, and he gave alms to such a great extent that none can make a correct estimate of it. The king sat with his queens, Kauśalyā, Kākeyī and Sumānī (Samitrā), having tied the ends of his garment to the garments of the queens.

The beautiful platform of the sacrifice attracted the mind; Fire-god was beautifully placed over it. The king had collected also the other constituents of the sacrifice in large quantities, and with these, he sat (to perform the sacrifice).

His collection consisted of *pañca-ratana* or the five gems, oblations, *gavya*, i.e., the products of the cow, the *pañcāmṛta* (mixture of milk, sugar, butter, curds and honey), fuel for the sacred fire, leaves, flowers, fruits, various kinds of garments, plates of metals, and many varieties of perfumes.

He collected pearls, coral stones, unique gold, (rubies) and silver, which constitute *pañca-ratna* (five jewels). Black sesamum, barley, paddy, clarified butter, with molasses, milk and areca-nuts, all these constitute the golden ingredients.

*Dūdha ghīva dadhi madhu guṣṭa lahiē*  
*Ambṛta pāca nāma chu kahiē.*

*Gōbara mūtro gau kē hōi*  
*Dūdha ghīva dadhi gabi kahi sōi.*

*Āvāhana kari kari jo bolāē*  
*Pūjā lēnu dēvatā āē.*

*Bājā bajata bibidhi cahu vōrā*  
*Manu pāvasa gājata ghanu ghōrā.*

*Sāthē sāta saekarē rāni*  
*Gāvata gīta kōkilā hāni.*

*Nācata naṣi bhai maga ṭhūṭhi*  
*Dāmini si damakata duti bāṭhi.*

*Ṭhaurā ṭhaurā guni jana lie bājā*  
*Gāvata rāga nirta kari sājā.*

*Bipranha Bēda paṭhē aru gāē*  
*Mānahu Bēda dēha dhuri āē.*

*Rājā tahā bhaḥ Dakāvantā*  
*Muni Batistha rikhi Śringī santā.*

*Aura sabai muni sākala tēhi*  
*Vai dou hōma tapasa saba dēhi.*

*Jagya raccha caudaha niḥpāpā*  
*Tinku kō jagya bhūtara lai thāpā.*

*Brahmā Bisna Rudra tahā sōhai*  
*Indra Kubēra Candramā mōhai.*

*Sūraja Pāvaka au Dṛgapālā*  
*Bidyādhara Gandharba bisālā.*

*Lōkapāla aru Baruna Ganēsā*  
*Apu āpana disu bayattha andēsā.*

*Puruba Indra Agini aṅganēē*  
*Dacchina Jama nairitu Racha kēē.*

*Pachima Baruna bāṇbyau Kāyū*  
*Uttara bayattha Kubēra soḥāyū.*

Take milk, clarified butter, curds, honey, and molasses these are called *pañcāṃṛta*; and if the mixture consists of the refuse of the cow, its urine, its milk, its clarified butter, and its curds, it is called *gavya*.

The deities who had been invoked, came to accept the offerings. In all the four directions, various kinds of instruments were being played upon, as though in the rainy season, heavy clouds were thundering.

Seven hundred queens together were singing songs in the note of the cuckoo. The nautch-girls, in the course of dancing, paused in the passage and the increased glow of their persons shone like lightning.

At places, skilled masters with the accompaniment of instruments, sing various melodies, that are being supplemented again by dance. The Brāhmaṇas chanted Vedic hymns in such a manner as if the Vēdas themselves had appeared in person.

There happened to be king Daśavanta (Daśaratha) and sages Vasiṣṭha and Śrīṅgi. While these latter performed the sacrifice, other sages took the charge of offering oblations, warming their body.

The fourteen spotless protectors of the sacrifice were brought in and put in position. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra were present there, and Indra, Kubēra and Moon-god attracted the attention.

The Sun-god, the Fire-god, and the rest of the regents of the several directions, and the great Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, and the Lords of the (fourteen) worlds, and Varuṇa and Gaṇeś'a, everyone sat in his proper place.

In the east was seated Indra, in the south-east, Fire-god, in the south, Yama, in the south-west, Rakṣas (the demon who is the regent of that direction), in the west, Varuṇa, in the north-west the Wind-god and in the north, Kubēra.



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*Īsānē Śaṅkaru sukhadāi**Brahmā sarga Śēkha bhūa pāi.**Kidrigapāla nāma dasu āē**Puni navagraha bayathē jukhā pāē.**Jehi jehi thaura dēvatā bhākhē**Tāha tāha bipra Bēdavā rākhē.**Joi joi nāma dēvatā hōi**Biprahi nāma dharata gue sōi.**Dēvanha kē ruci hō jo ahārā**Dēta gāē tinha kō byauhārā.**Kēsari candana phūlanha pūjē**Hōhi prasanyu kṛtāratha dūjē.**Sila chomā khaṣa karmanha māhi**Tē sabu brāhmana jahula karāhi.**Padhai paṣhāvai dei aru hōi**Jagya karai karavāvai jēi.**E khaṣa karma bipra kē hōi**Jāmaha ē khaṣakarami sōi.**Putra sōi jō Bēda bakkānai**Gāetvī japa tapa brata thānai.**Alhanā Bisna bhagata jō hōi**Tā brāhmuṇa sama aṇva nu kōi.**dōhā**Candana phūlai ūkha phala**Khāṣa barai pai māhi.**Lālu bipra puni Bisnabā**Tā sama tula kou nāhi.**coupāi**Hōma karata santukṣa hutāsana**Bhāē prasanya jō putra prakāśana.**Dibya rūpa pāvaka adhikāi**Jagya purukha pragatē jukhā āi.*

In the north-east was seated the auspicious Śiva. Brahmā was given the heavens, and Śeṣa, the earth. These ten regents named (above) came. Then the nine planets sat where they were offered seats.

Wherever I have named deities, at each of those places Brāhmaṇas were seated, who had knowledge of the Vēdas. Whatever were the names of the deities, the same were given to those Brāhmaṇas; whatever food was especially liked by those deities, the same was offered to these.

They were worshipped with saffron, sandalwood-paste, and flowers; they were pleased, and also grateful. Such Brāhmaṇas as performed their six-fold duties with a good disposition and with forbearance, were appointed to serve them.

Studying, teaching, giving (charity) and taking (it), offering of oblations, and helping others in performing sacrifices, these are the six-fold duties of a Brāhmaṇa. One who possesses these qualities is called a *ṣaṭkarmī*.

The same is the son who propounds the Vēdas, who repeats Gāyatrī, and who engages in invocations and penances, or else who is a devotee of Viṣṇu. None is equal to such a Brāhmaṇa.

Although the sandal-tree may bear blossom, and the sugarcane may bring forth fruits, or sugar may burn in water, there is none equal to a Brāhmaṇa who is devoted to Viṣṇu.

When offerings were thrown in the sacred fire, the deity who had the capacity to bestow upon one an issue, was pleased. Sacrifice appeared there with a divine appearance which was accentuated by the fire around him.

*Adbhuta rūpa agni maha rājai*  
*Kunaku thāra don hātha birājai.*  
*Tā maha sundara khira uhārā*  
*Lēhu lēhu kahi hātha pasārā.*  
*Muni rikhi n̄hi ādara kai lieū*  
*Ubhai bhāgu kari rājahi dieū.*  
*Sīsa cūlhāe liē nripa rānī*  
*Dhanya dhanya rikhi kahi muni bānī.*  
*Iṭṭuna jagyu bhayō jabu jānā*  
*Dīnha daccchinā kari sanumānā.*  
*Bhūmi bhōga bahutai diyo grāmā*  
*Pāe parai saba kē nripa bāmā.*  
*Āju bhaē saba kāja hamārē*  
*Āvata hī rikhi pāe tumhārē.*  
*Bipra kṛpō kari āvahi jākē*  
*Pūrana hōe manōratha tākē.*  
*Jā ghara bipra dharai pagu āi*  
*Tā ghara kirati hōi baḷāi.*  
*Bipra prasāda Indra bhae lōgā*  
*Bipra prasāda putra dhana bhōgā.*

*dōhā*

*Banitā hasana sugundhu au*  
*Bhōjana gīta jo pāna*  
*Mandira bājī Lāla kahi*  
*Āshu bhōga ehi jāna.*

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*dōhā*

*Dhōḷi basī navulakā*  
*Gajakuru nēḷi jānu*  
*Bhāṭhī sōdhanu dōha kē.*  
*E khaṭakarma lakhānṛ.*

His unique appearance shone in the fire; gold-dishes looked pretty in both of his hands, and in those dishes, there was good-looking *kāira* (a preparation of milk). He stretched his hands with the cry, "Take this, take this!"

The sages stood up and accepted it with veneration, and having divided it into two, they offered it to the king. The king and the queens placed it on their forehead and accepted it, and the sages declared, "Blessed are the king and the queens!"

When (the king) knew that the sacrifice was over, he honoured (the Brāhmanas) and gave them presents. He gave them many villages to enjoy the blessings of the earth. The queens placed their heads at the feet of all the guests, and said,

"To-day, all our desires have been fulfilled, when, sages, your feet came to this place. In whosoever house the Brāhmanas kindly come, his desires are fulfilled.

"In whichever house the Brāhmanas come and place their feet, that house is highly praised (by all). By having pleased the Brāhmanas, they have (in the past) become Indra, and by having pleased the Brāhmanas they have been blessed with issues and riches."

Maidens, clothes, perfumes, food-stuff, music, drinks, palaces, horses, know these to be the eight-fold blessings, says Lāla.

*Dhōṣi*, *baṣṭi*, *navalakā*, *gajakara*, *nēṣi*, and *bhāṭhi* these are said to be the six processes of bodily purification.

## canpāi

*Nēti dhōri nāsikā pōvui*  
*Dhōti basana nīla mala dhōvui.*  
*Navuti nala phērai ju nshāi*  
*Uduru mudhyu gura tē lakhi pāi.*  
*Bhāthi karai nāka sura aise*  
*Dhavai sonāra dhātu kaha jaisē.*  
*Aicui ēka ēka svara chādai*  
*Ati hi bēgi bēgi hāsi mādai.*  
*Rastē mūla dvāra jala karakhai*  
*Gajakuranī gaju jyanu jala barakhai.*

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*Alu sunu prānāyāmu bakhānan*  
*Jōga grantha kō manu mata ānuu.*  
*Sādhai sādhu jōga jnu kōi*  
*Rukai dēsa jahā dunda na hōi.*  
*Sadā subhaccha rahai tā shaurā*  
*Dharamarāja kaha dhāvana daurā.*  
*Rākhai saṅga ēkaī evā*  
*Sārati samujhi karui saba sēvā.*  
*Rahai jāe ikānta bicāri*  
*Jahā nahī bahutai nara nāri.*  
*Chādai saba jahjāla samētā*  
*Rahai sumashta suṣhi dvāra inkētā.*  
*Nahi ati nēca nahī ati ticā*  
*Āsana suina bhūmi kara vūcā.*  
*Prathamahi kusa tāpara mṛga-chālā*  
*Puni kambala ūpara rudramālā.*  
*Ati kōmalu sama ruci sukhadāi*  
*Padumāsana buighe mana lāi.*

*Nāṣi* denotes that process in which a rope is passed through the nose; *Dhāṣi* denotes that in which (the outlet for) the filth is washed with a blue cloth; *Navāṣi* denotes that in which the intestines are moved in the belly—one sees this latter with the aid of a preceptor.

*Bhātāṣi* denotes that in which such a sound is produced by the nostrils as is produced by the goldsmith in the course of blowing the metal. The inhalation should be done by one nostril, and the exhalation by the other. This should be repeated in quick succession, and with a laugh.

*Basī* denotes that in which water is passed through the anus. *Gajakaraṇi* denotes that in which water is blown like an elephant. Now I describe the *prāṇāyāma*, hear the same. I now recollect the opinions of the treatises on *yoga*.

When a mendicant performs *yoga*, the land becomes free from strife. In that land, good eatables are always available, and messengers of Dharmarāja are always on tour in that land.

He (the *yōgī*) should keep only one person with him, who may render all sorts of services befitting the requirements of the ascetic. The ascetic should make his abode in a secluded place, which may not be frequented by men or women.

He (i.e., the ascetic) should renounce everything with its train of cares. He should live in a *maṭha* which should have a narrow opening. He should sit and sleep on the ground (which should be) neither at a very high level nor at a very low level.

He should first prepare a bed of Kuśa-grass, thereon he should spread the skin of a deer, and again thereon, he should spread a woollen carpet. He should wear a rosary of Rudrākṣa (probably in the neck). Thus, having prepared a very soft, even and comfortable seat, he should sit in the posture of the lotus (*Padmāsana*), with a centred attention.

Uṣhi haiṣhō ita uta nahi dōlai  
 Bulu nahi karahi bahuta nahi bōlai.  
 Kāṣi aru grīva sīsa sama rākhui  
 Nāsā agru drīṣṭi abhilākhui.  
 Sūchama kachuka rākhī mukhu āgē  
 Dēkhai tāhi palaka nahi lāgē.  
 Jabu lai naina rajala bhari hōi  
 Trāṣika dhyāna kuhatu hai sōi.  
 Aggy nāsa racchā kari lana kē  
 Tīkā karai kapaṭa taji muna kē.  
 Jugyu dāna japa tapa bratu pūjā  
 Hōma pāṭha saradāḍika dījā.  
 Jōgu dhyāna au dānahu diē  
 Nihphala hōhi tilaka binu kiē.  
 Prānāyāma karai tehi shanrā  
 Aicni puvana dāhinē vōrā.  
 Inḡalā piṅgalā karai bicārā  
 Bōḍē dāhinu nākē dvārā.  
 Inḡalā piṅgalā sukhama nārī  
 Nāsā madhya ruhata sukhakārī.  
 Dakṣina puṭa nāsā svara jōnā  
 Tāhi piṅgalā kuhata sayānā.  
 Bōḍē ilā jāniē sōi  
 Madhya sukhamaṇā nārī hōi.  
 Tinha kē āni dēvatā gāē  
 Sūraja Candra Brahma taha chāē.  
 Enha kē bhēda gurū sō jānai  
 Jōtakha saguna sabai pahicānni.  
 Bhinnu bhinnu jan kahun banāi  
 Bātahi bātu gruntha baṭhi jāi.  
 Khoṭasa hēru pranan mana māhi  
 Pūrtu jānni adhika kachu nāhi.

He should sit with his chest forward. He should not roam here and there. He should not apply excessive physical force (in doing the *prāṇāyāma*). He should not talk much. He should keep his loin, neck, and head in a straight line ; and he should concentrate his vision on the tip of his nose.

Placing some subtle thing in his front, he should constantly gaze, without letting his eyelids fall, till the eyes are moisted. This is called *Trāṣika* meditation.

The tip of the nose protects the body. Having done away with mental deceits, he should place the mark on his forehead. Sacrifices, charity, invocations, penances, fasts, worships, oblations, reading of sacred texts, observing the second day of *Śarada* and other seasons,

Practising of *yōga*, meditations, and giving of alms, all these are fruitless without having made a *tīlaka* (the mark). There he should practise *prāṇāyāma*. He should inhale by the right nostril.

Through the left and the right nostrils, he should respectively meditate on *līngalā*, and *Piṅgalā*. *līngalā*, *Piṅgalā*, and *Sukhamā* (*Suṣuṃṇā*) are the relief-giving veins which are found in the nose.

The sound that is produced in the right nostril is called *Piṅgalā* by the wise ; similarly that produced in the left nostril is called *līlā*. In the middle is located the *Sukhamanū* (*Suṣuṃṇā*) vein.

They are said to be ruled by three deities respectively ; the sun-god, the moon-god, and *Brahmā* are ruling there. When distinctions between these are known with the help of a preceptor, the sciences of astrology and of omens become known.

If I describe the various aspects (of the *yōga* system), the dimensions of the book will easily increase. (Therefore I am brief here.) He should utter the *praṇava* sixteen times in his heart. Having done this he need not utter it any more.



- Rākhai mūdi pavana nahi jāi*  
*Causeaṣhi mantra japai tabu tāi.*
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*Bāe souru chāṣai taba sōi*  
*Bōra baṣasu mantra japu hōi*  
*Aicai pavana so pūraka kakie*  
*Rākhai rūki so kumbhaku lakhie*  
*Chāṣai tāhi so rēcuka jāni*  
*Tāsō prānāyāma bhāhāni.*  
*Muntra sahita tehi kahata sagarbhā*  
*Binā mantra soi jāni ugarbhā.*  
*Rākhai āni prāna bhū māhi*  
*Tṛkuṣi dhyāna kāla bhau nāhi.*  
*Prānāpāna karui gutirōdhana*  
*Prānāyāma sōi aghatōdhana*  
*Sanē sanē sādhai ehi bhāṣi*  
*Karu abhyāsa devasa aru rāṣi.*  
*Pūrata tajata rōki jaba dhurai*  
*Pañca sāta rasu rasa saba karui.*  
*Jaisē nayā ghōra guju hōi*  
*Dauraba cāla sikkāvoi hōi.*  
*Ēkahi bōra karai huṣha ṣhāni*  
*Sō jōgi rōgi hoe jāni.*  
*Prāna apāna bāyu samu dhārai*  
*Nāsā madhya madhya saṁcārai.*  
*Mana aru parana tṛkuṣa kari mēlā*  
*Rahai unamanahi dhyāna akṣlā.*  
*Jōgi jahā karai niṣa bāsā*  
*Dēkhai puramu jōli parakāsā*  
*Anahada sunai jōli muna lāvai*  
*Ajapā japui bahuri nahi āvai.*  
*Kāla karma ki kāṣai phāṣi*  
*Sō jōgi kuhie abināsi.*

He should keep his mouth closed, so that the breath may not escape, and by that time he should utter the spell (of *prāṇava*) sixty-four times. Then he should leave the breath by the left nostril, covering a time occupied by thirty-two repetitions of the spell.

The process of inhaling is called *pūraka*, that of holding the breath, *kumbhaka*, and that of exhaling, *rēcaka*. These constitute what is known as *prāṇāyāma*.

When the *prāṇāyāma* is accompanied by spells, it is known as *sagarbha*. When it is devoid of spells, it is known as *agarbha*. The ascetic should store up his vitality in the eye-brows. By the meditations of the *tṛkuṣi*, there is no fear of death.

If one controls the movements of *prāṇa* and *apāna* (two of the life-winds) the same is *prāṇāyāma*, which is a purifier of sins. It ought to be gradually practised thus. It should be repeated day and night.

When inhalation, exhalation, and holding of breath are being practised, they ought to be done each five or seven times. They ought to be done slowly, as one (slowly) teaches a rough horse or elephant the art of galloping or trotting.

If one does it in one stretch by force, know the same ascetic to have become sickly. One should hold the life-winds *prāṇa* and *apāna* in equal quantities, and he should cause them to flow in the nose.

Having brought together the mind and the life-winds in the *tṛkuṣi* he should remain in a detached mood, with a centred meditation. Where the ascetic has made his abode, there he sees the dazzling ray of light.

One who hears the *anahada* (S. *anāhata*) sound, and concentrates his mind at the ray of light, and utters the unutterable and does not come back, and who breaks the tie of Kāla and Karma, he should be called an immortal ascetic.

*Dina dina mana tana mē bilamāvai*  
*Rākhai rōki rōki jāka dhāvai.*  
*Tana cañcala tan cañcala pavana*  
*Pavana capula tē mana kō gamunā.*  
*Monu kē calē hindama cali jāi*  
*Binda calē bahu buddhi nūāi.*  
*Buddhi gaḍ hoc subai bigārā*  
*Nityānitya bibēka bicārā.*  
*Buyaṣṭhē hāraka aṅgula bāi*  
*Nikasai dasa bhītara kō jāi.*  
*Doni dvai aṅgula sūṣata soāā*  
*Tā tē hōta dēha kō nāsā.*  
*Sōvata calata aṣṭhāraka jāki*  
*Causaṣṭhi dhāvata mithu(na)nu māki.*  
*Sādhana pavana jōga kuru ēi*  
*Rākhai rōki jāna nahi dēi.*  
*Sō jōgi jīoni bahu kālā*  
*Dēkhai Lāla jagatu kē khyālā.*  
*Halukā alapa ahāra karāi*  
*Bhūkhahi marai nu pēṣu bhurāi.*

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*Ābila lavana khaṣāi chāḷai*  
*Kēvala dūḍha bhāla mahā mēḷai.*  
*Jāgata rahai na bahutai sōvai*  
*Baiṣṭhā rahata nu phiratuhi khōvai.*  
*Rākhai lāda jatana kari tēi*  
*Apanē jānu jānu nahi dēi.*

dōhā

*Kaḷuka kalaha maithuna suena*  
*Tṛṣṇā bhōjuna mēṣu*  
*Ghaṣai ghaṣāḍ Lāla d*  
*Baḍhai baḍhāḍ pēṣu.*

He should, day by day, pay his attention to the body, and hold it back when it goes elsewhere. When the body is tremulous, the life-winds will be unsteady, and by the life-winds being unsteady, the mind will be roaming (from one object to another).

By the mind being unsteady, the *bindu* or the seminal fluid begins to move, and by the moving of the seminal fluid, the intellect considerably diminishes. By the vanishing of the intellect, everything goes astray, and especially the power to distinguish between the eternal and ephemeral is lost.

The life-wind diminishes by twelve *āṅgula* (the thickness of a finger) by remaining seated, when you inhale, it diminishes by ten, and when you break your respiration, each time you lose by two. Therefore, the body perishes.

During sleep and during walk, it diminishes by eighteen, and by sixty-four in the course of running and in the course of sexual union. Therefore, you should perform this kind of *yōga*, i.e., of controlling the life-winds. You should hold them and not let them go.

Such an ascetic lives a long life and sees the movements of the world. He should eat very light food, and that also in a small quantity; neither should he starve, nor should he fill his belly.

He should keep away the acid, the saline and the sour food; he should eat only milk mixed with boiled rice. He should (generally) keep awake, and should not sleep much. He should (generally) remain seated, nor should he lose by loitering. He should preserve the seminal fluid with care, and should not lose it in his knowledge.

Ring-worm, quarrel, sexual union, sleep, desire for eating, and storing these five become less by lessening and increase by increasing.

*dhā*

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*Nripa kaha asa āgē bhaē*  
*Dātā yā jaga māhi*  
*Lālu putra ehi bidhi dē*  
*Tinha mē hamakñ āhi.*

*caupāi*

*Aurau sunuñ (?) jasa jākō*  
*Śiva ausina nāma rahō tākō*  
*Jagyu bahuta kīnhē tehi rājā*  
*Padabi lēhu Indra kē kājā.*  
*Karau na dāna kari dēva kuhāvai*  
*Sau jaga bhaē Indrapada pāvai.*  
*Anta jagyu rahe karata bhuālā*  
*Bhau tehi dēkhi Indra kaha jñālā.*  
*Līd Bṛhaspati gurahi holāi*  
*Hamari anta avasthā āi.*  
*Jorē hātha dīna hoe bhākhā*  
*Jau bala hōi kachū tin rākhā.*  
*Suragura kahata calē taha jāi*  
*Jagyu karata tehi dēhi dīgāi.*  
*Rājā dayāvantu suni ata hi*  
*Jiva dayā kachū karata hai tatnhi.*  
*Mai kapōta hoi calata hau āgū*  
*Tuma saiyāna pāchu hoi lāgū.*  
*Parikau jāe sarana so daikai*  
*Mārata mōhi bacār so laikai.*  
*Taba tai kahu eha bhacchu hamārā*  
*Rājā dēhu na karabu bicārā.*

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*Parichī hōi dōu nñhi dhāyē*  
*Rājā jagyu karata taha āē.*

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The king says. "In the past, such generous men have been in this world, that they have given their sons in this manner. What am I amongst them?"

Hear more about him. His fame was . . . His name was Śiva Ausina. That king performed many sacrifices with the object of attaining the office of Indra.

(He said to himself), "I do not give alms. One who gives alms is called a deity, and by performing a hundred sacrifices, he attains the office of Indra. (The king with this idea commenced the series of sacrifices.) While he was performing the last of the series, Indra saw it, and was inflamed (with rage).

He summoned his preceptor, Bṛhaspati, and said, "The end of my life has arrived." And with joined hands and in a suppliant mood he requested, "If you have any power, do protect me."

The preceptor of the deities said, "Let us go there, and while the king is performing the sacrifice, let us move him (from the path of virtue). I have heard that he is of an extremely kind disposition, and that whenever any being asks him his protection, he is generous to him (in offering the same).

"I am leading you in the guise of a dove, and you follow me in the guise of a hawk. I shall fall before him (when chased by you), and he will offer me his protection, and will save me from death.

"Then you would say, 'This is my food. King, you should hand it over to me, without any hitch.' In the guise of birds, then, they both leapt up, and flew to the place where the king was performing the sacrifice.

*Jhapati saiyāna kapōta girāvā*  
*Rājā kē kōchē maha āvā.*  
*Tāko dēkhi dnyā jivā āi*  
*Racchā kiyō liyō hiyu lāi.*  
*Kuhai saiyūna nṛpati taji dōhū*  
*Bhacchu ājn pāyō mai dhū.*  
*Ehu akāru pāvai tau karikai*  
*Nā tau pañca jīva hama murikai.*  
*Mārai pañca ēka kī racchā*  
*Ehu kaho kauna dharmu hai acchā.*  
*Rājā kahai nura saba sujihai*  
*Saranāgata āē nahi tajihui.*  
*Ēka vōra saba dharamahi kijai*  
*Ēka vōru jīva dānahi dījai.*  
*Jīva dayā bahu bhāti bakhānā*  
*Mān nḥārī ēka na jānā.*  
*Dī!hu matu jāni saina asu bhākhē*  
*Apanō māsu dēu ehi rākhē.*  
*Arē saiyāna bhaṭō kahi ēṭṭ*  
*Dōhau māsu māgu cahui jēṭṭ.*  
*Kāheko adhika lēba hama rājā*  
*Dōhu kapōta samāna so kājā.*  
*Rājā manu utusāhu bai!hāvā*  
*Apanī māsu utāri ca!hāvā.*  
*Līni churā.....jyau chōṭē*  
*Rāmu Rāma kahi saba tahā tōṭē.*  
*Tabu tuha garu kapōta hoi baisā*  
*Palarā udhika adhika hoi taisā.*  
*Bruhṃā Bisṇa Rudru tahā āē*  
*Dēva danuja muni dēkhana dhāē.*  
*Chīli chālī nṛpa māsu ca!hāvā*  
*Dēkhi dēkhi saba acaraju pāvā.*

The hawk pounced upon the dove, and brought it down. The dove fell into the lap of the king. Seeing the plight of the dove, the king felt compassionate. He offered it his protection, and clasped it to his heart.

The hawk says, "King, leave this dove, for only today I have got my food. After I have got it, I will satisfy my hunger; otherwise five lives including mine, will perish.

"You hereby kill five, and save one. Tell me, what good you are doing by saving the dove." The king said, "I will do everything, but I will not leave one who has sought my protection."

"Place at one end (of the scale) all the virtuous deeds you do, and at the other end the saving of one life (and both will weigh equal). Kindness to the creatures has been praised in various terms, none of which are known to the flesh-eaters."

Knowing the king to be firm in his determination, the hawk said, "If you protect this dove, give me your own flesh." The king said, "You have well said, I will give my flesh however much you may ask for."

The hawk said, "Why should I ask for more? Only give me flesh equal to the weight of the dove, and that will do." The king gathered courage and began to weigh his own flesh.

As soon as he took up the knife to take out flesh from his body, every one present there exclaimed, 'Rāma, Rāma!' On the scale, the dove sat, having become abnormally heavy, and the pan of the scale sank and sank, every time becoming heavier and heavier.

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra came over there: the deities, the demons, and the sages ran to see (what was going to happen). The king placed his flesh on the pan, having removed it from his bones, and everyone was struck with surprise when he saw it.



*Asa kō aura karai kina kīnhā*  
*Yā bidhi tana kākū nahi dīnhā.*  
*Jā tana sō tana lagē anēkā*  
*Asva gaja nara kō karai bibēkā.*  
*Jō tana bahuta tapuni lupi pāyō*  
*Sō tana puru tana lāgi gavāyō.*  
*Jō tana bahuta jatana kari rākḥō*  
*Rāja dēha durlabha bhāi bhākhō.*  
*Bhūkhana basana arugajā lāgā*  
*Sō tana nṛpa tṛna sama kari tyāyā.*  
*Sundaru tana jāśō sukha māni*  
*Banītā bahuta rahata lapōṣāni.*  
*Gārī dēhi risāe risāi*  
*Kaikai tōhi kavana muti āi.*

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*Marō Maithirā dūṣṭa kuṣṭhōrī*  
*Srāpahi tāhi āguri kari phōrī.*  
*Jinhu kē Rāmu lagē unabḥāē*  
*Tinha apanō paratōka nasāē.*  
*Rāmahi bana enha dīnhā hōi*  
*Aganahi kahanu lagē saba kōi.*  
*Srāpahi pasu pañchī siru tarahū*  
*Rōvana maranu karai gharaburukū.*  
*Chatapafāhi jimi jala binu mīnā*  
*Ucharahi mīna hōhi jala kīnā.*  
*Sajjana sukhuda mītra rahe kōi*  
*Girē pachāra khāe suni sōi.*  
*Hinuhināhi ghōrē dukha karahi*  
*Naina nira bhari bhari giri miruhī.*  
*Rāmahi jāta dēkhi pichatān*  
*Hā'hinka tōri jājira luhāē.*

Who else would do it? Who else has done it? Nowhere has anyone given his body in this fashion, the body with which are attached so many other bodies, like those of horses, elephants, and men—who can count them?

“The body which was obtained after having done many penances, the same body the king spared for another body. The body which you keep with such a great care, and say that it is very difficult to attain the body of a king.

“And the body which was covered with ornaments, and clothes, and which was smeared with perfumed pastes, the same body the king gave away like a blade of grass.

The beautiful body from which numerous maidens derived pleasure, and therefore they clung to it. (Hereafter something seems to have been missed).

They in anger call Kaikēyī by evil names and say, “Kaikēyī, what didst thou think?”

“May extremely wicked Mantharā die!” They curse her by twisting their fingers. They said, “They, whom Rāma was not dear, have lost their heavens.”

Pointing to Agana(?), everyone began to say, “This must be the man who sent Rāma to wilderness.” Animals, birds, stones (‘Sīrā’?) and trees, all curse (Kaikēyī), and even the houses wept and lamented.

They were restless like the fish without water, as the fish toss up and down when water (of the tank) diminishes. There were gentlemen who were friends; when they heard the news, they fell aback.

The horses (of the king’s stable) neighed and wept; they filled their eyes with water and fell down. When the elephants saw Rāma going (to the wilderness), they felt their helplessness; they broke the chains away.

*Dārahi dhūri sisa gaja dhūnī*

*Jiyaba Rāma binu bāta bikūnī.*

*Kulasā dhujā na dhīraje dharahi*

*Mahalanha para tē giri giri parahi.*

*Thaura thura muruchala bhaharānā*

*Girē kōja Rāmahi gae jānā.*

*Jinha jaha sunē tuhā tē dūmē*

*Kau ratha kau paga kuu caḍhi ghōrē.*

*Panthahi rōki rōki rahe ṣhāḍhē*

*Calana na dēhi mōhu atī bāḍhē.*

*Ken dē kṛyā paraga jau daihan*

*Māri kamahi āgē taba jaihan.*

*Ken mahārājahi kahi samujhāi*

*Rāmahi ajahu phēri lehu jōi.*

*Parajā pāṭha Rāma sāga jaihai*

*Kāpara amala Bharata nṛpa kaihui.*

*dōhā*

*Lālu subhaṣa sāvaka kahi*

*kōē kōu mahārāja.*

*Hama nu johāraba Rāmu binu*

*rājai kinku akāja.*

*caupāi*

*Dāsi dāsa kahi binu Rāmahi*

*Aba kō aurā sabhārai kāmahi.*

*Gulhata padhata rahe dātū jo tētē*

*Taji taji kāja cutē saba tētē.*

*Bhicchuku gunī kahi kahi jūnē*

*Rāma samāna dāni kahu paṛē.*

*Lāgata āju Ajōdhyā kuisi*

*Sūna masāna bhayāvana jaisi.*

They, excessively, threw dust on their heads, and said that it was untrue to think of living without Rāma. The jars and banners could not remain unmoved. From the (tops of the) palaces, they fell down.

At various places the *chawī* came down, and the boundary-walls of the city fell down when they knew that Rāma had gone to wilderness. Whoever heard the news, he ran from the place where he was, either on a chariot or on foot, or again on the horse-back.

They barred the passage, and would not allow Rāma to proceed, so greatly they were feeling (his departure). Some swore, "If you move a pace on, you will first kill us and then go forward."

Some requested the king, "Do bring Rāma back, even today, for the subjects and the gentry will go with Rāma, then, over whom will Bharata reign?"

The holder of the servants said, "Whoever may be the king, we shall not bow down to any one except Rāma. It is the king who has done the mischief."

The maidservants and the servants said, "Without Rāma, who can take the management (of the state) in his hands?"

All those who were (doing any business) either making vessels, or reading, or were giving, or were taking, left their business and went to the spot.

The beggars and artisans said, "Where are we to go now? Where would we find a man as generous as Rāma. Today, Ajodhyā is looking as lonely and as dreadful as the cremation ground."

*Keu kaha rāti dēkhi kama sapanā  
Ghara taji taji sabahi calē apanā.*

*K'hāna pāna sāhana sudhi bisari  
Parulē rahata nāri son nisari.*

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*Rājā parē sōca kē sāgara  
Rāni subai bhai dukha āgara.*

*Jūāni ēka Basīṣa sayānā  
Rāmahi kahū guē nahi jūnā.*

*Sarajū birahini bhai dukha mānā  
Bahi gai bahatē nira jhurānā.*

*Thakē ganja kaṭarā bājārā  
Uṣhi gui banika bhai kaṭatārā.*

*Sabakē sōca sōga bhae ēhi  
Rahihai kavana bhāti Bayadēhi.*

*Sahasanka laccha sakhi mē khēli.  
Kaisē bana Siya rahaba akēli.*

*Keu kakai Bāma rahana kē nāhi  
Sītahi bhalā chāḍi jati jāhi.*

*Barajai sasu kahi samujhāi  
Sītā rahu gharahi jani jāi.*

*Kā jō Rāma pūta bana jaihai  
Kusala chēma bēgē phiri aihai.*

*Jāta hai chāḍi bāpa aru maiyā  
Tē kū kahahi rahaigē bhaiyā.*

*Dēsa bidēsa jāta hai kēū  
Tiyau saṅga phirata kā tēū.*

*Sītā kahati mās sunu bātā  
Tiya ko jiva pati kinha bidhātā*

*Jenha patibrata nēma kari liē  
Tē pati binu kaunē bidhi jiē.*

*Sēvā karai sadā rahai saṅgā  
Agyā kabahu karai nahi bhaṅgā.*

Some said that they had dreamt in night that every one had left his home (and accompanied Rāma), that he had forgotten eating, drinking and bathing. Even the ladies who were in *purdah*, left *purdah* and came out.

The king was amidst the sea of cares, and all the queens had become abodes of misery. There was one very wise man Vasiṣṭha who did not think that Rāma had gone elsewhere.

The Sarayū became deserted and felt the departure. Her water evaporated while she was flowing. The quarters, the streets, and the markets of the city looked worn and weary. The businessmen had departed and there was a complete strike (*hartāl*) in the city.

Everyone was lamenting, "How would Vaidōhī stay there? She has played amidst thousands of tens of thousands of playmates, how will the same Sītā live there alone?"

Some said, "Rāma is not going to stay there. It would have been better if he had left behind him his wife Sītā." The mother-in-law of Sītā forbade her (from going to the wilderness) and said, "Sītā, stay at home, and do not go (with Rāma)."

"How does it matter if my son, Rāma, goes to the wilderness? He will soon come back safely. He is going (to the wilderness), leaving his father and mother; vainly do they say that he will stay there.

"When somebody goes to a foreign country, does the wife also accompany him to that land?" Sītā says :

"Mother, hear me. For the wife, the Maker has made her husband her very life-spirit.

"A lady who has taken the vow of *pātibrata*, how can she live without the husband? She should always serve him and keep his company, and she should never disobey him.

*Pārabatī Lachamī Brahmānī*  
*Piya kē aṅgahi māha samānī.*  
*Patī kē aradhā aṅga rahai sōi*  
*Aradhāṅgi kuhiyata kinha kōi.*  
*Jajña dāna tīrathaku Purānā*  
*Banītā sāga lai karubū bidhānā.*  
*Bānaprasāda gṛhastu āsrumā*  
*Banītā hī sō ruhata hai dharamā.*  
*Rāma calata Siya calī sabhāgī*  
*Jaisē chāha saṅga hī lāgī.*

*dōhā*

*Pṛtama saṅga banabāsa bhala*  
*Sakaba sīta bhala ghāma*  
*Lāla piyārē piya binā*  
*Indratōka kehi kāma.*

.....

*Sukula paccha kī pañcamī*  
*Phāguna māsa hī jāna*  
*Kiyē payāna Avadhā tē*  
*Lāla gamana mana māna.*

Pārvatī, Lakṣmī and Brahmāṇī, all are one with the body of their respective lords. They live in the half of the body of their respective lords. Does not everybody call them 'ardhāṅgi' or occupying half the body (of their lord)?

"It is enjoined (by the scriptures) that sacrifices, charity and visits to holy shrines should be done in the company of the wife. *Vānaprastha* and *Gṛhastha* stages of life are maintained with wife."

With the departure of Rāma, Sītā also made her departure as the shadow goes side by side (with the object).

Exile is a blessing (to a lady) when her lord is with her whether it is cold or it is sunny. Lāla says, 'Of what worth (to a lady) is the *Indra-lōka* without her dear lord?'

... ..

Know the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phāguṇa to be the day on which (Rāma), Lāla, made his departure from Avadhā, of his own sweet will.





**(b) Prēma Pragāsa**

BY

**DHARAṆĪ DĀSA**

[Text from a manuscript completed on 21st date of Bhāḍṣ, year 1281 (Faslī), A.D. 1873, by Mahanta Rāmadāsa of Mājhi for Jānakīdāsi alias Baratā kuāra of the same place.]

*Sri Gaṇēśāya namaḥ*  
*Śrī pūthī Prēma pragāṇ*

---

*Prathamahi paramēśvara kō nāmu*  
*Jō saba santa karaḥi bisrāmu.*  
*Alakha akhaṇḍita agama apārā*  
*Jinha kīnhō eha sakala pasārā.*  
*Sakala triṣṭi kara bhōjan dātā*  
*Juga juga abicalu āka bidhātā.*  
*Sarba karma sō kartā karai*  
*Bāura nara aurana sira dharai.*  
*Jō jana tana mana prabhu rāga rātā*  
*Tinha sō bilaga na rahata bidhātā.*

*bisvāma 1*

*Bitambhara bisarāvai,*  
*sō nara kūra kujāna*  
*Jo hila sō cila lāvai,*  
*pāvai pada nirbāna.*

*caupāi*

*Gura mahimā ati agama apārā*  
*Gura binu būṛi marai savasārā.*  
*Gura binu puni puni āvai jāi*  
*Gura binu bhava jala parai bhulāi.*  
*Gura binu pāpa pūni kara āsā*  
*Gura binu parai kāla kē phāsā.*  
*Gura binu dēi (na) dēvā sēvā*  
*Gura binu milai na mukti kai bhēvā.*  
*Gura binu lōkācārāhi lāgā*  
*Gura binu samsaya dharama na bhāgā.*

## Translation

### Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa

The book *Prēma pragāsa* (Light of Love) (begins).

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First (let us utter) the name of the Almighty who gives relief to all saints ; He is Invisible, Perfect, Unfathomable (and) Boundless, He is one who has spread over all this (universe). He gives food to the whole creation, in every cycle of time He is Immovable, the Creator. He, the Doer, does all acts (while) the foolish people attribute them to others. The man who dyes himself in the Lord's colour (affection), from him the Creator never remains separate.

### *bisrāma 1*

The man who forgets the Protector of the universe is an idiot and ignorant, (while) he who puts Him in his heart with regard obtains the place of Emancipation.

### *caupāi*

The greatness of the teacher is unfathomable, unbounded ; without the teacher one may get drowned in the world (-ocean). Without the teacher one comes and goes again and again ; without the teacher one gets lost in the waters of existence. Without the teacher one expects sin and merit ; without him one falls in the snare of Death. Without the teacher, one does not offer service to the deities ; without him one does not reach the secrets of Liberation. Without the teacher, one sticks to worldly affairs ; without him doubts and illusions do not go away.

## bistrāma 2

Gura mahimā kō kahi sakē,  
 Gura dēvana kō dēva  
 Jō gura tattū lakhāiā  
 Dharani sō gura sēva.

## caupāi

Tulu puni sakala sādhu sira nāvō  
 Jākō kriyā ubhaya pada pāvō.  
 Jō budhivanta santa jaga māhi  
 Binati kareti sakala jana pāhi.  
 Āpu ukti nahi ākhara kareti  
 ... ..  
 Sō ākhara jani hāsa laḍāvakhu  
 Jō laghu hōē samujhi sudhāraku.  
 Mūrakha kē muhi sōca na āvō  
 Hasē ki bilakhē jō mana bhāvō.

## bistrāma 3

Paḍhala gunala sura sādhu jana,  
 khaṇḍita lōba merāi.  
 Sughara hātha para pāthara,  
 mōla bahuta ṭhaharāi.

## astōka

Puñcavaṣi ca udayē purasya  
 trīpurē madhyē ma tathā  
 Jaḥ jānāti caturasthānam  
 dharani tasya namaskrita.

## caupāi

Harijana sēvaka jahā ke bāsā  
 Nāma ṭhāma guna karahi pragāsā.  
 Madhya dīpa mājhī asthānā  
 Surapura sama kē sarisa nidhīnā.

*bisrāma 2*

Who can describe the teacher's greatness ; he is the god of gods, O Dharanī, serve the teacher who has shown the quintessence. .

*caupāi*

Then again I bow my head before all the saints, by their action (favour) I may obtain the place free from fears. Whoever are wise and saintly in the world, to all people I make a prayer. I am not putting down my own ideas in these words . . . . Please do not laugh at these words, whatever be deficient, please correct it after understanding (the same). I do not mind the fool ; he may laugh or be displeased, whatever he likes.

*bisrāma 3*

The gods, saints on reading and pondering over this will put in whatever is deficient; a stone placed on beautiful hands fetches considerable price.

*śloka*

Dharanī, bow to him who knows the abode of the wise in the middle of Śrīpura town at the entrance of which there is Pañcavaṭī (?).

*caupāi*

The servant of the people of Hari reveals the name, surroundings and qualities of the place where he resides. In the middle of the Dvīpa, there is a place Mājhi, like the city of gods.

*Cārihu vōra saghanu amarāu*  
*Tāla taṭṭāga kahō (-ō ? ) kita nāu.*  
*Jaha taha puhupa bāṭikā lāu*  
*Byāpī kūpa taha bahuta badhāu.*  
*Dēva (a-) sthala bahu dēkhie tahā*  
*Harikō carucā nisu dina tahā.*

*bisrāma 4*

*Bastu kahā lagi barunō,*  
*jahalagi hāṭa bikāhi.*  
*Ēka devasa jaha dēkha,*  
*janmo na bisarē tāhi.*

*caupāi*

*Śrīvāstava trīpālī kō dāsā*  
*Karahi sahita parivāra nevāsā.*  
*Ṭikaitadāsa tahā tapa-āgara*  
*Kāetha kula mahimā ati sāgara.*  
*Parasrāma suta tinha kahā bhāiū*  
*Sujasa bēli jinha basudhā kaiū.*  
*Biṣṇu upāsika ati sura gyānī*  
*Nirmala jasa cahū disā bakhānī.*  
*Patani tāsu birāmā māi*  
*Purabila karani bahutu kamāi.*  
*Daā dharma diṭha dūnō prānī*  
*Nirmali jasa cahū disā bakhānī.*  
*Pāca putra bidhi tinha kahā doīū*  
*Pañcana māha ujāgira kieū.*  
*Tina kē nāma kahata hau jānī*  
*Bipra bēda mala kahau bakhānī.*  
*Ṭihakē nāma kahō (-ō ) bilagāi*  
*Jālō samujhi parē nara lōi.*

Which place can equal it? On all the four sides, there is a thick mango-grove; the tanks and lakes, how shall I give their names. Here and there are flower-gardens planted, many wells and water-reservoirs have been constructed. One sees many temples there wherein people discourse upon Hari, day and night.

*bisrāma 4*

How far can I describe the articles that sell there in the market; whosoever has seen it even once, will not forget it throughout life.

*caupāi*

The Śrīvāstavas, slaves of Hari, reside there with their families. There (lived) Tīkaiṭa Dāsa, an abode of austerities and an ocean of the greatness of Kayastha family. A son, Paraśu Rāma was born to him, who spread the creeper of good fame on this Earth. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu and had knowledge of the gods; his spotless fame was praised in all the four quarters. His wife was mother Bīrāmā; she had earned considerable merit in previous births. Both the living beings were steadfast in compassion and virtue, their blameless glory went about in all the four directions. The Creator gave them five sons and made them prominent amongst the people. I give their names, (as) the Brāhmaṇa elucidates the doctrine of the Vedas. I mention their names individually, so that the people in general may understand (the same).



## bistrāma 5

*Lachirāma vō Chatrapati,  
Dharanī Bēnirāma.  
Kulmani sahita pañca jana,  
sādhu sāghati bistrāma.*

## caupāi

*Dharanī kē mana anubhava bhaiū  
Prēma-pragāsa kathā eka ṭhancū.  
Sahijahi jiva upajū anurāgā  
Sō antaku tē cihuki janu jāgā.  
Utapati kahō kathā kichu āgē  
Bhagti bhāva amī untara lāgē.  
Saraguniā sarguna lai lāvē  
Nirguniā nirgunāhi sunāvē.  
Sāmmata satrā sō cali gaiū  
Tēraka adhika tāhi para bhaiū.  
Śāhajakā chōḍī duniāi  
Pasari aurāgajeba dohāi.  
Sōca bisāri ālamā jāgi  
Dharanī dhareu bhēkha bairāgi.*

## bistrāma 6

*Pukhya pañcamī sukula pacha,  
pakha nichatra gura bāru.  
Tehi dina kathā arambha bhau  
mēhasi nagra majhāra.*

## bistrāma 257

*Sāhasa tē sidhi pāiē,  
jō mana niścē hōi.  
Binu sāhasa Dharanī kahē,  
sidhi na pāvē kōi.*

## caupāi

*Barisa devasa ehi bidhi cali gaiū  
Mili mantri rājē mata kiēū.*

*bisrāma 5*

Lachirāma and Chatrapati, Dharanī, Bēnirāma; with Kulamani they were five men (who obtained) relief in the company of saints.

*caupāi*

Dharanī had an Experience in his mind, the story Prēmapragāsa occurred (in the mind). Naturally love came to the soul, it appeared as if it flared up inside. Now further I describe the genesis of the story, with devotion-nectar within (me). The devotee of the attribute-full (God) brings up the attribute-full while the worshipper of the attributeless talks about the attributeless. The Sāṃvat year 1700 passed off, thirteen years over and above it have elapsed. Shāhjahān gave up worldliness and the call of the protection of Aurangzeb went round. The soul gave up all anguish and became awake, Dharanī put on the guise of a person disaffected from worldly affairs.

*bisrāma 6*

The fifth day of Pausa, in the bright fortnight, the Puṣya (?) asterism, Thursday; on that day this story was begun in the city of Mēhasi.

*bisrāma 257*

If there is a determination in the mind, one's wishes are accomplished by means of courage; Dharanī says, no one obtains accomplishment without courage.

*caupāi*

In this way, days and years passed off; the king and the minister together had counsel.

*Kahe rājā aba cōtaḥu rāju*  
*Kuvarahi dēhu tilaka dida rāju.*  
*Rāja kāja ala kari kumārā*  
*Mai nija nāma japō karatārā.*  
*Tehi dina kī bidhivata jata cīnhā*  
*Sō bidhi sakala sampuraṇa kīnhā.*  
*Brāhmaṇa bōli gharī ṣṭaharāi*  
*Apanē hāṭha tilaka dihu rāi.*  
*Pahilē nripati nripati āpu ca nāvā*  
*Tau puni sako(la) triṣṭi siru nāvā.*

*bisrāma 258*

*Citrasēna mahathā bhavō,*  
*saṅginha māna baiṭhāi.*  
*Kuarī bhāi paṣarāni,*  
*Dharanī jana guna gāi.*  
*caupāi*  
*Jō jana kathā paḍhē mana lāi*  
*Sumati baḍhē durmatī bahi jāi.*  
*Jō jana sunē sraṇana cita lāi*  
*Tākō kartū Rāma sahāi.*  
*Jō paḍhi ānāhi kathā sunāvē*  
*Tāki manasā dēva pujaṇvē.*  
*Likhi likhāi jō ānāhi dēi*  
*Tiratha baruta phala baiṭhē lēi.*  
*Apanē hāṭha jē kothā utārē*  
*Tūkē bāḍhē gyaṇa apārē.*

*bisrāma 259*

*Rasika paḍhē rasa ūpaṣē,*  
*mūrakha upaṣē gyaṇa.*  
*Kūdara nara hō sūruā,*  
*jōgi pada nirbāna.*  
*Iṭhī Prēmu pragāsa sampūrana.*

The king says: 'Now look to the kingdom, give coronation to the Prince, give him kingship. The Prince will now perform the king's duties, I shall mutter the name of my Creator.' Whatever ceremonies were recognised for the day, they were all fulfilled. Having called the Brāhmaṇa and settled the auspicious moment, the king coronated (the Prince) with his own hand. The king made the (new) king bow first to himself and then to the whole creation.

*bisrāma 258*

Citrāsēna became the Lord, honouring his companions, the princess became the coronated queen; Dharaṇī says the people sang praises.

*caupāi*

Whosoever mindfully reads the story, his good understanding increases and evil understanding flows away. The man who with his heart hears it, is helped by the Creator, Rāma. He who, after reading it, recites it to another, the God fulfills his aspiration. He who writes it out and hands it over to another obtains the fruit of (visiting) sacred places and of (keeping) vows. He who copies the story in his own writing, his knowledge increases limitlessly.

*bisrāma 259*

If the man of tastes reads it, he derives pleasure. The fools derive knowledge, the timid become brave and the *yōgī* obtains Emancipation.

The book Light of Love (is) completed.



(c) Gura Anyāsa



ŚIVA NĀRĀYAṆA

[Text collated from two manuscripts:—

MS. A mentions no date of writing but as colophon it has the date of transfer to Rāmsēvak Rām Mahant in the year 1307.

MS. B completed in 1290, Jēṭha, dark fortnight, 14th date, Friday; given to Bāhā Saburī Dāsa; written by Ājōra Rāma.]

*Santasarana*

*santapati ji sahās*

*Sabada grantha Gura Anyāsa orambha hōlu  
santabacana pramāna.*

*dhā*

*Karatā sabha guna kāra kā  
Gunakārana bhauhkāra,  
Srisṭi-savārana cāriphala  
Cālacalana bevahāra.*

*Caracā tāki jō sunai  
Caurāsī sō bāca,  
Gura bina sō nahi pāvai  
Bina gura milata na sāca.*

*caupāi*

*Gura Anyāsa kahatu jaba āni  
Taba gati mukuti hōta hai prāni.  
Gura kē sabada pāi hoe santā  
Bina gura sabada na pāvata antā.  
Gura kē kripā te pari kichu bījhi  
Bhav anusāra pantha paru sūjhi.  
Kripā kinha taba ādi kumārī  
Kaṇṭhē baisi gyāna deti bhārī.  
Gyāna hōta taba agama apārā  
Taba Anyāsa kathā anusārā.  
Sammata satraha sai ekānabē hōi  
(E)gāraka sai sana paitālisa sōi.  
Agahana māsa paccha vjiārā  
Tithi tirōdasi sukra se bārā.*

## Translation

Refuge of the saints

May the Lord of saints help

The Book of Word, Gura Anyāsa, begins ; the Saint's word is authority.

### *Īṣkā*

The Creator of all qualitative things, the cause of qualities, the genesis (?) of existence, the decorator of the creation, the (bestower of) four fruits and the dispenser of worldly affairs ; one who hears discourse about him escapes the eighty-four (lacs of existences ?) ; without the teacher He cannot be obtained, without him none can obtain the Truth.

### *Caupāi*

When Gura Anyāsa is recited, the living being gets deliverance. By obtaining the teacher's words, one becomes a saint ; without the teacher's word one does not reach the goal. By the teacher's favour something is comprehended, the path according to existence becomes visible. Then the primeval maid took compassion and sitting in the throat bestows weighty knowledge. Then unfathomable, unbounded knowledge comes and the *Anyāsa* story is begun. There was the samvat year 1791 and the Faslī year 1145. The month (was) Agahana, the bright half, the 13th date and Friday.



*Tehi dina niramaya kathā punītā  
 Gura Anyāsa kathā sabha hūā.  
 Sāha Mahammada Dillī sulatānā  
 Kāsi chatra Āgarē hai thānā.*

*dohā*

*Tehi samai mō Sivanarāena  
 Baṅgadēsū calī āu  
 Kanphō baisī Sardāsī  
 Kathā Anyāsa banāu.*

*caupāi*

*Janmabhūmī hai kanaujī dēsā  
 Karma basī sē Baṅga parubēsā.  
 Tiratha pī raāga subā jē hōī  
 Tehi kē amala Gājipura sōī.  
 Gājipura sarakārū kahāvē  
 Sube pariāga amula sei pāvē.  
 Jaharābādo paraganā āhī  
 Asakarānu tappā lehi māhī.  
 Sē asathāna Cādvārā kahāvē  
 Sivanarāena janma tahā pāvai.  
 Janma pāi bhau gura kē mān  
 Tabā Anyāsa asa kathā banāā.*

*dohā*

*Āsapāsa Cādvārā mahā  
 Gājipura sarakārā  
 Bunda Narayanī kahala subha  
 Bāgharāe kē bāra.*

*caupāi*

*Dukhaharānu nāma sē gurū kahāvē  
 Barē bhāga sē darasana pāvē.*

On that day the *Gurā Anyāsa* story, sacred and beneficial to all, was composed. Shāh Muhammad was the Sultān of Delhi. Āgrā (Agra?) is the place in the region of Kāśī.

### *dōhā*

At that time Śiva Nārāyaṇa came away to Baṅga country (Bengal), Goddess Sarasvatī sat in (my) throat and I composed the *Anyāsa* story.

### *caupāi*

The birthplace is Kanauj country, by the force of deeds I entered the Baṅga country. The sacred place Prayāg is the Sūbā (province), under it is Gāzīpur. Gāzīpur is known as Sarkār, it obtains orders from the Prayāg province. There is a *parganā*, Jaharābad, in it there is a *Tappā* (named) Asakarana. Its place is called Cā davār, there Śiva Nārāyaṇa was born. Having been born, he obtained the loving pity of the teacher and then he composed the *Anyāsa* story.

### *dōhā*

All around Cādavār there is the Sarkār of Gāzīpur; the people of this place, the descendants of Bāgharāi, are called Naravaṇī (Rajputs).

### *caupāi*

The teacher (of Śiva Nārāyaṇa) is known Dukhabarāṇa by name, by great luck one obtains his sight.

*dhā*

*Tinha kē carana ke cita dharē*  
*Bhau Sivanarāena dāsa*  
*Dukhaharana nāma kē sumiratā*  
*pāvata niscala bāsa.*

*caupāi*

*Gura kē nāma hiā maha rākhī*  
*Ehi bira santa sabhai kehu bhākhī.*  
*Gura kē sabada hiā maha gaeū*  
*Sivanarāena cali tahā bhaeū.*  
*Cali phiri kē dekhata sāvasārā*  
*Jānata ghaṭa ghaṭa gurū piārā.*  
*Eka dinn santa sabhā maha gaeū*  
*Caracā sabada hōta tahā rahaeū.*  
*Caracā sunata bahuta sukha pāi*  
*Sivanarāena suni mana lāi.*  
*Sunata sunata mora mana patiāi*  
*Dibbi gyāna taba cita maha pāi.*  
*Gura kē caracā sunata punītā*  
*Santa kahota gura nāma le nūtā.*  
*Sē suni sravana bahuta sukha pāi*  
*Sunē dhyāna kari ante na jāi.*  
*Kahata ki gurū bisna sama jānā*  
*Jānahu amṣa ēka nahi ānā.*  
*Gura kē sumirata bisna sahāi*  
*Binu gura dāā bisna na pāi.*  
*Jaba gura dāā karata mana māhi*  
*Taba sikha siddha hōta chana māhi.*

*dhā*

*Jē pāā gura sabada tē*  
*Sē kichu likhā banāe*  
*Paṇḍita jana sē minati*  
*Bhulā mōpha kari pāe.*

*ḍōhā*

By meditating upon his feet, Śiva Nārāyaṇa became his slave; as soon as he remembers the name of Dukhaharaṇa, he obtains permanent abode.

*caupāi*

Keeping the teacher's name in the heart, in the meantime speaking to all the saints, with the teacher's words in the heart, Śiva Nārāyaṇa moved away from the place. He wanders about and sees the world, he knows that the teacher is dear to every body. One day he went to the assembly of the saints, there discourses on the Word were going on. On hearing the discourses Śiva Nārāyaṇa felt very happy and took it to heart. Hearing again and again my mind came to have faith and then in the heart I obtained supreme (godly) knowledge. The teacher's sacred discourse is heard and the saints always utter the teacher's name and talk of it. On hearing it the ears feel very happy; on hearing meditation does not cease. It is said that the teacher should be taken as Viṣṇu, take him to be His part, nothing else. On remembering the teacher, one is helped by Viṣṇu, without the teacher's compassion one cannot have Viṣṇu. When the teacher becomes compassionate, the pupil in a moment becomes a *siddha* (perfect).

*ḍōhā*

Whatever I obtained from the teacher's words, that I have composed and written down; I pray to the learned: 'may I obtain pardon for my mistakes'?

*Sunata se sivanarāena  
Kahata se gurū hamāra  
Paṇḍita jana sē mīnati  
Būjhaba ehī bicāra.*

*Jē parhē se to agama gati  
Sunē mukuti kai rāha  
Ura antara suni kē dhurē  
Bhau jala pāu nibāha.*

*Phēri na āvata jagata sē  
Pāvata nihacala bāsu  
Kahata santa mana jāni kē  
Sivanarāena dāsa.*

*Subhai khōje na mili sokē  
Nahi pāē keu bāsa  
Pāen sivanarāena  
Chūṭi avari kī āsa.*

*Niraiṅkāra kī bhāva asa  
Calata dharē sabha aṅga  
Sē nau barakha sunna maha  
Kē hoe nāri anaṅga.*

*Jata andhi sama kandha hui  
Bhāga bibhāgi bicāri  
Sē taha hina adhina hoe  
Jaba kahi baisata hāri.*

*Jōga jāpa jaha taha karai  
Jaha taha mārata khāe  
Kahi dēkhata parvāna nahi  
Kahi rahai bhaṭokā khāe.*

*Nāma marana savasāra maha  
Kahi kahi bāratu āe  
Gura pralāpa tē Sivanarāena  
sādhū saṅghoti maha pāe.*

Śiva Nārāyaṇa hears, my teacher speaks, my prayer to the learned is : ' keep this point into consideration.' Whosoever reads obtains the path to the Unfathomable, one who hears comes on the path of deliverance, one who keeps it in heart, after hearing it, is relieved of the waters of existence. He never returns to the world, he obtains the permanent abode. The slave Śiva Nārāyaṇa says so, having read the thoughts of the saints. Everyone is searching but none obtains, none gets the abode. Śiva Nārāyaṇa has got it and has given up the hope of other things.

The feeling of the Formless is such that one moves about endowed with all the limbs. (He remains) (?) in an empty space for nine years or has women and Love. The world (?) is as if blind, considering all matters. When it becomes defeated it sits quite humble and subdued. (People) practise *yōga* and mutter prayers at some places, at some other places they kill and eat. For this (latter) there is no authority ; at places they suffer delusion. (People) come and loudly declare that in this world there is Name and Death. (This teaching) Śiva Nārāyaṇa obtained in the company of saints, by the grace of the teacher.

*Ghara chāḍ ādhiāra bhau*  
*Ujiārē saba pāe*  
*Nēki badī ke karanē*  
*Sabha ghaṭa rahā chapās.*  
*Baṅga rūpa rēkhā nahī*  
*Karata jagata ājiāra*  
*Sata gura milai to pāiē*  
*Bina guru pāu na pāra.*  
*Sē guna aparampāra hai*  
*Sivanarāena dāsa*  
*Disī nihārē tāhi kīha*  
*Pāvata niscala bāsa.*  
*Nau nāma bhau ēka tē*  
*Dasō nāma kē hātha*  
*Sivanarāena tōharē*  
*Sadā rahō mai mātḥ.*

---

*Sabada grantha Gura Anyāsa (gyāna dīpaka) sampurana bhaila.*  
*Santa bacana paravāna, sabada kahē so māna.*  
*Santa pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra pāra,*  
*Caupāi aṭṭhāisa sau bāvana (2852)*  
*Dōhā ēka sau sarasaṭhi (167)*  
*Isloka 12.*

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The house being covered became dark, everyone obtains (Him) in light, (the soul) is enveloped in a body due to deeds, good and bad. He has no colour, no form, no lines (but) gives light to the universe ; one can obtain Him if one has a good teacher, without a teacher, one cannot find any clue. That teacher's qualities are unfathomable, slave Śiva Nārāyaṇa obtains permanent abode, having been seen by Him by a glance. From One, came about nine names, Śiva Nārāyaṇa says : " O tenth name, may my forehead be always in thy hand."

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The Book of Word, *Gurā Anyāsa* (the Lamp of Knowledge) became complete.

The words of the saints are authoritative ;  
one should obey what is stated in the Saint's words.

The saints (are) across, across, across, across, across, across.

(In this book there are) 2852 caupāis,

167 dōhās

and

12 ślōkas.

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(d) Yūsuf Zulēkhā<sup>1</sup>

P. 10

*Hijari sana bāraka sai bārā  
Baraneu pēma kathā yaha sādā.  
Aṣṭhāraka soi sattāisā  
Sambata Bikrama Sēna narēsū.  
Sattraha sai bāraka puna Sākā  
Sattraha sai navvē isā kū.  
Sattāvana barakh bilē āvū  
Taba upajeu yaha kuthā ka cāvū.  
Sāta divasa māha kathā samāpata  
Durmata nāma raheu so samlatu.  
Kieu tarana kō tēja umāikā  
Sāthi kiyē chāḍa sabhu saikā.  
Bāḷ ansa uṭha kē jaga māhī  
Bharenha devasa aba kucha rasa nāhī.  
Danā janama kō gōrakha dhandhā  
Abahū na samujhai yahu mona undhā.  
Bāra bayasa ava tarana sohāvā  
Gayau bita fisara pana ūcā.*

P. 11

*Tēja nagārā klēa kū  
karahu so citta sābhāra.  
Agama pantha sāthi nahī  
Kehi bidhi utaraba pāra.  
Biradha bayasu māha kīnha bicārā  
Kehi bidhi hōi mōra udhārā.  
Kahatū tau tanta kathā ati sādū  
Jo Qurūna mā sunā o bādā.*

<sup>1</sup>Text taken from the manuscript described in the Introduction § 6.

## Translation

### Page 10

When Hijari year 1200 was read, I described this true love-story. Then it was the 1827th year of King Bikrama Sēna, and 1712th of the Sakas, and 1790th of the Christ. When fifty-seven years of my life had passed, I entertained the idea of telling this story. The story was completed in seven days. The name of the Sambata was 'durmata.' I indulged in the excesses of youth and leaving aside all cares, I made companions. Having arisen in this world from the left-side (of the supreme?) I have completed my days, and now nothing substantial remains. The snare of Gūrakha is completed, and still my blind mind does not understand. The childhood and the youth have passed and third part of my life has arrived.

### Page 11

Loud is the sound of the drum of departure,  
my mind, note it carefully.  
The way is unknown, and I have no company,  
how will I complete it?

This thought came to me in old age ; in what manner shall I be redeemed ?

That is why I tell this most beautiful story, which I have already heard and read in the Qurān.

*Sabha bhākhā māha kathā sohāi*  
*Baranaū bhāti bhāti gurunāi.*  
*Abarī au Arabī sura bāni*  
*Pārasi au Turakī Nasarāni.*  
*Bhākhā māha kākhū nahi bhākhū*  
*Mōrē ansa dāiu likhi rākhā.*  
*Sō aba kathā kahaū cita lāi*  
*Jehi tē mōkha mukti hoi jāi.*  
*Yūsufa nabī mudita jaga āvā*  
*Tārana gana māha canda sohāvā.*  
*Jakā lahi (ra) hā siddha avatārā*  
*Sabha māha rūpa dīnha nījārā.*  
*Kathā anūpa jagata māha sōi*  
*Prēma bhagati sata dharama samōi.*

*Yūsufa nabī anūpa jaga*  
*Parghāsa bhē sansāra,*  
*Jāki kathā so tanta aba*  
*Baranēū tēja kartāra.*

*Jō yaha kathā sunai cita lāi*  
*Nāsai pāpa punya adhikāi.*

P. 12.

*Bājhini sunai so santati pāvai*  
*Aggita nirīpa mācha kara āvai.*  
*Nirdhana hōe hōe dhana āgara*  
*Nirguna sunai hōe guna sāgara.*

*Dukhī sunai tan sukha adhikāi*  
*Bandī sunē mōkha hoi jāi.*

*Bichurāi dāi so dēya milāi*  
*Kōgi sunai rōga hari jāi.*

*Nirdāi kaha dāyā āvai*  
*Jōgi sunai jōga adhikāi.*

This beautiful story has been said in all the languages :  
and in various laudable ways :

in Ibrāī (Hebrew), Arabī (Arabic), Suryānī (Syriac),  
Pārasī (Persian), Turkī (Turkish), and Nasarānī  
(Christian).

But this has not been anywhere said in the vernacular,  
and the same was left by the Maker to me as my share  
of the work,

therefore, I tell the story with all sincerity,  
so that I may attain salvation and deliverance.  
The prophet Yūsuf came to this earth joyfully,  
as though he was the beautiful moon amidst the stars.  
As far as there have been incarnations of seers,  
the Maker gave him the most shining appearance.  
The same story is unique in this world  
which is rich in love, devotion and true religion.  
Of all the prophets who graced this world  
Yūsuf has not been equalled.

Now I describe his mystic (?) story  
with the help of the Maker's powers alone.  
Whoever hears this story attentively,  
he destroys his sins, and adds to his virtuous deeds.

#### Page 12

A barren lady who hears it, gets an issue  
who is respected by the kings (?).

If the hearer is a pennyless beggar, he becomes rich,  
and if he is a man of no good, he becomes a man of  
qualities.

If a miserable man hears it, his share of happiness  
increases,

and if a man in bondage hears it, he is set free.

It brings them together, whom fate has separated,  
and if a sick man hears it, the sickness disappears.

If the hearer is merciless, he takes pity.

And if an ascetic hears it, his powers of *yōga* increase.

*Kaisatā bipata gāḍha jō hōi*  
*Sunē kathā bidhi dārai kḥōi.*  
*Sunai safi dina dina sata bāḥai*  
*Birahi biraha dīnha dukh dāḥai.*  
*Pēmi sunai pēma adhikāvai*  
*Paṇḍita sunai mahā rasa pāvai.*

*Jo koi sunai paḥai likhni*  
*Hōi siddha saṁsāra*  
*Bansa sutana sukh pāvai*  
*Dēya asis Nisāra.*

*Kathā anūpa ihai jaga mḥhī*  
*Dūsara kathā so yahi sāgha nḥhī.*  
*Nabī lāgi yaha kathā sohāi*  
*Saraga lōka tē Daiu paḥāi.*  
*Ēka dausa Jibaraila jo āē*  
*Harana Husēna ko dukkhu sunāē.*  
*Mārinha tīnha lairī nirdāi*  
*Pānī blūda na dīnha kusāi.*

*P. 13.*

*Sunī kai marana nabī dukha mūnā*  
*Rōē lāga dukhita hoe prūnā.*  
*Taba Jibaraila kathā yaha lāē*  
*Ānī aratha sabha bāci sunāē.*  
*Jō imāma kaha ummata mārīnha*  
*Yūsufa bandha kḥpa māha qārīnha.*  
*Kathā satta aba kahaṁ sohāi*  
*Jehi bidhi saraga lōka tē āi.*  
*Cūk hōi tan lāhu sabhārī*  
*Suddha asuddha so likheu bicārī.*

However great may be the distress,  
 if one hears this story, the Maker reduces his distress to  
 nothing.

If a lady devoted to her lord, hears it, her devotion  
 increases day by day.  
 and if the hearer is away from his beloved, he sets  
 fire to his pangs of separation.

If a lover hears it, his love increases,  
 And, if a wise man hears it, he finds great pleasure in it.

Whoever hears, reads, or writes it,  
 he becomes a seer in this world,  
 his family and his sons get repose,  
 so blessed Nisāra.

This story is singular in this world,  
 no other story can vie with it.  
 For the sake of the Prophet,  
 the Maker sent this beautiful story from the heavens.  
 One day, Jibrāil came,  
 and told the miseries of Hasan and Husain.  
 Their merciless enemies had killed them,  
 those butchers did not give them a drop of water.

### Page 13

The Prophet was aggrieved to by the news of their death,  
 he began to weep, and his heart sank.  
 Then Jibrāil brought this story,  
 and having brought it, he explained its significance.  
 How they killed the followers of Imām  
 and how they imprisoned Yūsuf in a blind well.  
 The same true and beautiful story, I now say,  
 and also, how it came to this earth from the heavens.  
 If I commit any mistake, correct it.  
 I have written it after having considered the right  
 and the wrong.

*Baranau kathā anūpa abu  
Prēma bhari au sūca  
Mōkha mukata gati pāvahi  
Jōrē sunā au bāca.*

*Kanañ nagara jo Nūha basāvā  
Tahā nabi Ya'qūba sohāwā.  
Jaga maha lahā siddha avatārā  
Pūjai tāhi sakala sansārā.*

*Lauta nabi kai sutā sohāi  
So biyāha Isahāqa ke āi.  
Bhē Isahāqa ke dui suta saṅgā  
Eku udara dui rabi sasi raṅgā.*

*Ēka Aisa Ya'qūba so dūjā  
Tapa japa bidyā kōu na pūjā.  
Mahā siddha tā kuha bidhi kinhā  
Isrāila nāma tiuha dīnhā.  
Upajē Sāma dēsa dou bhāi  
Rahē Kanaāna Ya'qūba sohāi.*

**P. 14.**

*Bhējē tāhi so alakha sādēsā  
Lāvai nigama pantha sabha dēsā.  
Nica ūca kaha mūtaga lāvai  
Okaru nūha saba bhēda batāvai.*

*Korai tapasyā raina dina  
Tapa japa nēla au nēmu  
Jibaraīla āvahi tahā  
Ana baqhāvañ pēma.*

*Sāta istiri sughara sohāi  
Bāraha putra dañ adhikāi.*

**P. 331.**

*So puni kathā ahāi bistārā  
Kakaū kathā Yūsufa kara sārā.*

I now describe the unique story,  
 which is full of love, and is most true.  
 He attains salvation and deliverance,  
 who hears and reads it.

In the city of Kanaā (Canaan), which was founded  
 by Nūha,

there lived the good prophet Ya'qūba.  
 He was in this world, the incarnation of a seer,  
 he was worshipped as a god by the whole world.  
 The prophet had a daughter, Lūt by name,  
 she came to Ishāq in marriage.  
 Ishāq was blessed with twin-sons,  
 (as though) the sun and the moon were born together.  
 One was Aisa and the other was Ya'qūb,  
 and none could vie with them in the matter of medita-  
 tion, invocation, or knowledge.

The Maker made them great seers,  
 and Ierāil was the man who gave them names.  
 Both the brothers were born in the country of Šāma  
 (Syria)  
 and Ya'qūb remained well in Kanaā (Canaan).

: : : Page 14 : : :

The Lord used to send through him (Ya'qūb) the divine  
 message. He brought the whole country to the divine  
 path. He brought the high and low to the right path.  
 His mouth emitted all the mysteries. All day and night  
 he indulged in meditation, and invocation, and followed  
 a regular course of life. Jibrāil used to visit his place,  
 and whenever he reached there, he would accentuate  
 the divine love. (Ya'qūb had married) seven beautiful  
 wives, who gave birth to twelve sons.

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That story is, again, a long one,  
 I tell the essence of the story of Yūsuf.



*Dasañ darasa ñe jamarājū*  
*Yūsufa nabi prāna kē kajū.*  
*Kahā alakha jō agyā kīnhā*  
*Cahañ parāna tōra mat līnhā.*  
*Yūsufa kahā jō agyā hōi*  
*Sō sabha lēñ sīa para sōi.*  
*Dēkhi lēñ mat darasa Zulēkhā*  
*Taba hama (?) karahu jō āvai lēkhā.*  
*Taba jamarāja kahā yaha bātā*  
*Agyā nātha lakhau mukha rātā.*  
*Aba tuma tajahu pēma vahi kōrā*  
*Karahu pema jō karahi nīlērā.*  
*Bahuta bhāñi bināñi kai hārā*  
*Pāvā na Zulēkhā rūpa tihārā.*

*Yūsufa caha bahuta*  
*Lakhai Zulēkhā rūpa*  
*Pai Jamrāja na mānā*  
*Agyā alakha anūpa.*  
*Jaba lahi āñ Zulēkhā pāsā*  
*Taba lahi phūla gayau nija bāsā.*  
*Āñ nāra jō piñ kē firā*  
*Dēkhai parā jō sūna sarirā.*  
*Puni nihāri Yūsufa kaha dēkhā*  
*Raheu na rūpa rañga nahi rēkhā.*  
*Mūde nayena khulañ aba nāñi*  
*Bayena harē mukha bōluta nāñi.*

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*Hātha pātī mukha saravana nāsā*  
*Saba tana haruta kiē jasu māsā.*  
*Sūna sarira parā bina jīū*  
*Gā thaga māri dēkhi mukha piū.*

In the tenth year, Death (Jamarāja) came for the life  
of prophet Yūsuf.

He announced the will of God, and said, "I want to  
\* take your life."

Yūsuf said, "Whatever may be your command I will  
obey it.

Only I want first a glimpse of Zülēkhā,  
Then you may do whatever is proper."

Then, Jamarāja said,

"Accept the Lord's will with a brave face.

Now, leave the affection of that lady, and engage in  
the love that offers salvation."

Yūsuf requested for a glimpse of Zülēkhā in various  
terms,

but 'could not see your face, Zülēkhā.' Yūsuf earnestly  
tried to see the face of Zülēkhā,

but Jamarāja did not allow him,

for such was the firm command of the Lord.

Before Zülēkhā came to his side the smell of the flower  
had departed from the flower (i.e., the life-spirit had  
departed from the body).

When the lady came to the side of her lord, she looked  
at the dead body; she again closely saw Yūsuf and  
found there neither the beauty, nor the charming  
complexion, nor again the beautiful lines on the face.

The eyes were closed; they would not open.

The voice had departed, the mouth would not speak.

### Page 332

The hands, the feet, the ears and the nose, the whole  
body was as if mere flesh.

The empty body lay there life-less.

She was thunderstruck to see the face of her lord.

*Dhasaka āhi hie māhi samānā*  
*Gaeu chāra jasa dēha te prānā.*  
*Murachi rahi nāra jasa phirī*  
*Rakhen na cēta hareu jaba sirī.*  
*Nāri dēkhi pin kara tana sūnā*  
*Binā parāna sabha pinṇa bhiṇṇā.*

*Kaun kathsa saravara hateu*  
*Kehi disa gayeu parāi*  
*Jehi bina sūna sarīra bhāi*  
*Kāhū na kahā so hāi.*

*Parī Zulēkhā hoi bina jīū*  
*Bahuri na dēkhā āpana pīū.*  
*Taba nahalāi sāja sabka kīnhā*  
*Laikai satūpi chāra kaha dīnhā.*

*Chāra milāi so chāra upārā*  
*Thāfi satūpi lōka paha āvā.*

*Jū jākara tehi satūpā sōi*  
*Sāthi saṅgha rahā nahi kōi.*

*Tina dausa dukha rakeu apārā*  
*Rahi Zulēkhā nathī bekarārā.*

*Piū kōpa kucha jānata nāhi*  
*Rahi so nāri sūkhi paṣa māhi.*

*Tisarē dausa bhōra hoi gaeū*  
*Taba puni cētu Zulēkhā bhaeū.*

**P. 333.**

*Dēkhā khōli naena cakū ōrā*  
*Kahā ke āja bhaeu kasa bhōrā.*

*Piū jāgata taba mōhi jagārai*  
*Āja saṅghi kahū disa na āvni.*

*Abā mat āja bhōra kai jāgi*  
*Gaeu pin kasa agasara bhāgi.*

*Piū kara mukha nahi dēkhaṭi ājū*  
*Mohr taja kabahū karata na kājū.*

Shock violently struck her heart and it seemed as  
though the life had also departed from her body.

As she turned, she swooned ;

she lay unconscious, and the radiance of her face  
departed.

The lady saw the body of her lord lying lifeless.

Without life, the whole body lay empty.

" Which goose was in this lake, and to what direction  
has it flown away, without whom the body is empty ?  
Alas, no one tells me that."

Zulēkhā fell unconscious, and did not see her lord again.

They washed the dead body of Yūsuf,  
and they adorned it well.

Then they delivered it to the earth.

They mixed that structure of dust with the dust.

And having thus returned the pledge  
they came back.

They handed it back to one whose it was  
and no companion accompanied him.

For three days, Zulēkhā was extremely pained,  
and she could not be made to understand (the real  
state of things).

She did not know the reason of her lord's displeasure,  
and she withered away within doors.

The third day in the morning

Zulēkhā was restored to consciousness.

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She opened her eyes and saw about her,

and said, " Of what type is today's morning ?

When my lord got up, he would wake me up,

but today, my mate does not come before my eyes.

Today I got up very early,

still, how is it that my lord has left all alone ?

Today, I do not see the face of my lord,

he would never do anything without me.

*Jaba laga rakañ sēja para  
 Kantha na chāraki mōht.  
 Aba rōja āja kakhā gaeu  
 Lāla so mōhi bichōhi.*

*Kahā sañghi nai suraga sidhārē  
 Tumakā biraha āgi maha jārē.  
 Suni gaha bāta so khāi pachārū  
 Phira phira sīsā bhūmi para mārā.  
 Jakā so pin hōi nihicintā  
 Tahā lai calahu juhā mora mintā.  
 Cañ sāghai sāgha biākula nārī  
 Jakā kantha sūnē sō nārā.  
 Teki kē dēhara jāi sira nārā  
 Pirathama kēsa tōri chitarāvā.  
 Chiturūeni mōtina kē hārā  
 Jūrā fūka fūka kai dārā.  
 Bāra khasōfi tōri natha dārā  
 Abharana tōri bhūsanhē sigārā.  
 Cūrī phōri sīsā taba phōrā  
 Chāra milāi dīnha vahi cūrā.*

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*Parī dhēra para chāra nārāhi  
 Bipata bipata mukha bayena sunāvai.  
 Nayena kādhi dō linhesi  
 dīnhesi dhēra para dāri.  
 Jehi naenani pin tōhi lakheñ  
 dēkhañ kāhi nihāri.  
 Kahā kantha tuma kahavā gaeñ  
 Naena baēna mukh sūna sabha bhneñ  
 Gāta gulāba dēkhi murojhāñ  
 Sō tana chāra linha aba khāi.*

So long as I would remain in bed,  
my lord would not leave me.  
But, where has my King, my love, now gone,  
having left me here?"

Her companions said that he had gone to the next world,  
having scorched you in the fire of separation.  
When she heard this news, she fell aback.  
She would strike her head against the earth, again and  
again, and say,  
"Wherever may that care-free lord of mine be,  
Take me to that place, where my friend is."  
Along with her, the sorrowful maidens went  
where the dead body of her lord lay.  
On the threshold of the tomb she placed her forehead,  
and first of all she let her hair loose,  
and she scattered the necklaces of pearls,  
and then broke her braid of hair into pieces.  
She tore the hair and broke the nose-ring,  
and having broken her ornaments, she undid her toilet.  
Having broken her bracelets, she broke her head  
And threw those pieces of bracelets in the dust.

## Page 334

She lay on the tomb and scattered dust  
and cried, "I am in distress, I am in distress!"  
She took out both her eyes,  
And threw them over the tomb and said,  
"These eyes with which, my lord, I looked at you,  
whom should I now look with them?  
What, my lord, where have you gone?  
All your eyes and your mouth are lifeless.  
Seeing the beauty of your body, roses drooped,  
but now the same body is being eaten away by the earth.

*Jehi mukha bōlahu amritu hānē*  
*Amrita bōla vai kahā herānē.*  
*Nita mō para tumā karata jo dāyā*  
*Kasa abu lā'la bhāsu niramāyā.*  
*Mat pāpina tumhu saṅghu na lāgī*  
*Ahaṭi karam kī sudā ubhāgī.*  
*Mōhi chāri kita kīnha sidhārī*  
*Naena oṭa nā karata piyārī.*  
*Jabu jamarāja parānu toru tindhā*  
*Nishuru lā'la mōhi khabari na dīnhā.*  
*Mat jama tē asa karati nihōra*  
*Lōhu lā'la sāghu prāna so mōrā.*  
*Ekahu chana nū mōhi bisārehu*  
*Calata bāra kasa mōhi na pukārehu.*  
  
*Naena oṭa kahū hōta raheu*  
*Mōhi tē agyā lōhu*  
*Aisē gaenha bidēna kaha*  
*Mūru na khōju karēhu.*

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*Cālisa barasa jo jōga kamāvā*  
*Taba prīlana mat tumā hā pāvā.*  
*Darabu arathu sobha dīhetī lufāi*  
*Jōbana rūpu anūpa gavāi.*  
*Kīnha dayā taba alakha gosāi*  
*Dīnhā rūpa soī sukha māhi.*  
*Taba mahimā mat tōra na jānē*  
*Nisa dina rahiṭi hīe abhimānē.*  
*Sō aba kantha kahā tohi pāyati*  
*Carana lāi sira tōhi manavō.*  
*Tumha nita karahu mōra manuhārī*  
*Mat nā kirati kucha kāna tumhārī.*

Your mouth would emit words like nectar,  
 but where have now those nectar-like words gone?  
 You would always love me,  
 then, how is it, my lord, that you have become pitiless?  
 I, sinner, did not accompany you (to the next world)  
 I have always been unfortunate.  
 Leaving me alone, where have you gone?  
 You would never let me be away from your sight.  
 When Death (Jamrāja) took away your life,  
 cruel lord, you did not inform me, for otherwise  
 I should have strongly urged him  
 that he should have taken my life also along with your  
 life, my lord.  
 You never forgot me for a moment.  
 why did you not call me when you were departing (for  
 the next world)?  
 Whenever you would go anywhere beyond the range  
 of my sight, you would always take my permission.  
 But this time you went to a foreign land in a singular  
 fashion, for you did not even care for me.

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When I had practised *yōga* for full forty years,  
 my dear, then it was that I got you.  
 When I had squandered all my fortunes,  
 and wasted my youth and beauty unequalled,  
 then it was that the Unseen took pity  
 and bestowed on me that beauty (of yours), amongst  
 rejoicing.  
 Then I did not know your virtues,  
 and all day and night, I was haughty.  
 Now, my dear, where should I get you  
 that I may make you agreeable, by placing my head at  
 your feet.  
 You would always beseech me,  
 but I would never lend my ear's to your request.



*Kā aba karahū manāvō kaisē*  
*Binafi karahū kinha tumhu juisē.*

*Tumha sāl mat cērī tōrī*  
*Kā aba karahū āeū mati thōrī.*

*Nīta sarira rākhēū tore caranū*  
*Kā aba karahū duī kara karanā.*

*Sāta barasa bada rākhēū*  
*I.āeū dōkha na mōhi*

*Auguna mōra chapāeū*  
*Kaheū na karchu tumu mōhi.*

*Sāta barasa rākhēū lāda māhī*  
*Mana māha rōsu kiheū kucha nāhī.*

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*Calata bāra torā rūpa na dekhēū*  
*Bacana na sunēu na naena bisēkhēū.*

*Sō lā' lana taji rahē ubhāgī*  
*Gāē lā' la mat sōi na jāgī.*

*Jaba tōhikā bāhara baharāi*  
*Bairini nīda kahā tē āi.*

*Dekhēū jāgi mādira torā sūnā*  
*Nagara kōṭa ghara bhāeū bihūnā.*

*Āehu phūla chārī phulavārī*  
*Kāṭa rahēū bāga mā chārī.*

*Gāeū kantha sū bēgi so bhāgā*  
*Pāchē rahēū kalānka so lāgā.*

*Dēhu utara mōhi kantha sohāi*  
*Phāṭai bhūmī aba jāyū samāi.*

*Yaha kalānka abu dēhu mīṭāi*  
*Uṭhi kai lā' la tēhu sāghu lāi.*

*Aisā ratana milā jagu,*  
*Chāra samāneū āi*

*Dhrika jivānu jō lā' la bina*  
*Jaga mā jiyata rahāi.*

What should I do now? How should I now make  
you agreeable?

I now request you as you had previously done.

You are my lord, and I am your bond-maid,  
what should I do now? I have little understanding.

Ever did I lay my body at your feet,  
what should I do now against the will of the Lord?

I kept you in captivity for full seven years,  
but you did not blame me.

You would screen my evil doings,  
and never chide me for them.

I kept you in captivity for seven years,  
still you did not at all take it ill.

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At the time of your departure, I did not see your face,  
nor did I hear your voice, nor did I see your eyes.

However, you forsook this unfortunate woman,  
my lord, you went, and I did not wake up.

That sleep of mine which sent you out,  
whence did that enemy sleep come?

When I woke up, I found thy temple lonely,  
and the walls of the city, the dwelling, and all else  
deserted.

Flower, you came here, leaving the flower-bed ;

I was a thorn scattered in the garden.

The Lord (the flower) disappeared immediately  
while I, a dark spot, lagged behind.

Answer me, my beautiful lord,  
may the earth split and I go inside it !

Wipe off this blemish upon me,  
and get up and take me with you, my Love.

I got such a gem in this world,  
but ultimately that was mixed with the dust ;  
Cursed be the life that even without the lord  
continues to exist in this world.

Yaha gharo bāra to dēsa tumhārā  
 Bhaeu sūnu sabha jaga adhiyāi ā.  
 Kauna batāihi bhēda karama thā  
 Bhūlē kauna dekhāehi panthā.  
 Kō tuma bina yaha pahāra uṭhāihi  
 Nēma dharama dina dina adhikāt.

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Abā tumha asa jaga upajē nāhi  
 Kauna to kari dukhi parachāhi.  
 Tumha samāna jaga phērī na āi  
 Kō asa rūpa gyāna budhi pāi.  
 Nibharama nīda rāheu piu sōi  
 Nāri sovali cētā nā kōi.  
 Tumhu nihacintu bhaeu pin jāi  
 Sōca hamāra tojēu sukhadāi.  
 Sahi tōka hai yaha sansārā  
 Tumhu bina kōn na ahai hamārā.  
 Kehikā dēkhi mana hulāsē piū  
 Tirakha bujhāi piyāsē jiū.

Vahai basanti vahi pāvau  
 vahai phūla phala sōi  
 Sabha apānē ritu dēkhaba,  
 tumhas na dēkhi kōi

Vahai mādira ū sarovara firā  
 Karahi dhamāra sadā jehi firā.  
 Vahai phūlu phūlai cakā ōrā  
 Vahi cāfaka rāga khañjana mōrā.  
 Vahai pavana jō phira phira ācoe  
 Vahai dāusa rahi raini dekhārae.  
 Eka na tumha jehi bina sansārā  
 Itigā tina bhauana adhiyārā.

This household and this country of yours,  
all, are deserted, and the world looks gloomy.  
Who will now tell (the world) the secrets of Providence,  
and who will now guide (it) when it has forgotten the  
right path.  
Who will now, without you, raise this mountain  
(of duties),  
And who will without you lead a regular course of life  
day by day ?

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Now none will be born in this world like you.  
And, who will now give shelter to the suffering ?  
None will again come to this world, who like you,  
will get such a good knowledge and understanding.  
You were sleeping soundly ;  
nobody awakened the wife who was asleep.  
You have grown careless since you went  
and you have forgotten my reposeful memory.  
This world is the real world,  
but in your absence, nobody is mine.  
Whose sight, my dear, will gladden my heart now  
that may quench a thirsty man's thirst ?

Spring is the same, and the same the Rainy season,  
the same are the blossoms, and the same the fruits,  
all will appear in their respective seasons,  
but none will see you.

The same is temple, the same the bank of the lake  
on whose banks we played naughtily.  
The same flowers even now blossom on all sides ;  
the same is the colour of the cātaka and the peacock.  
The same wind blows again and again,  
the same days and the same nights even now appear.  
You alone are not here, for which reason this world,  
and in fact all the three worlds look dark and dreary.

*Vahi taravara vahi lāta sohāvana  
Bhāvai na eka binā mana bhāvana.*

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*Eka dina hateu sobhāga sohāvā  
Jehi dina tōhi kaha Nāyaka lai āvā.*

*Bhai dhūma sabha Misira ke dēsā  
Uṣhi dhāvā sabha raṅka narēsā.*

*Paṭhaeu Nīla karai atanānā  
Nara narēsā sabha dēkhi lobhānā.*

*Eka dina āja so dekhetū,  
so mukha chāra chipāna,  
Kā bhā rūpa anūpa vaha  
jehi sansāra lobhāna.*

*Sapanē dēkhi bimōhetū tōhī  
Upajā biraha teja lakhi tōhī.*

*Āihā Misira kantha tōhi lāgi  
Kahetū ki kā gūna kinha abhāgi.*

*Pēma hamāra sēca bidhi kinhā  
Pāhana sarūpa so hamakā kinhā.*

*Jaba prītama hamasē mukha mōrā  
Jivana bhaeu darasa lakhi tōrā.*

*Cālisa barasa jōga mā kinhā  
Sunī kai nāu sabhai kucha dīnhā.*

*Jaba torā nāu sunāvai kōi  
Pāvai lākha dēs jō kōi.*

*Bisa barasa rahetū darasa adhārā  
Bisa barasa sunī nāma sabhārā.*

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*Aba torā darasa harā bhut māhī  
Nāu tumhāra sunaba abo nāhī.*

*Dēkhetū (na ?) darasa sunahū nahi nāū  
Kehi ke adhāra rahetū yahi jhāū.*

The same are the trees, the same the beautiful creepers  
but none attracts me without the charming one.

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One day I was blessed with good fortune, the day on  
which Nāyak (God?) brought you (to me). There was  
rejoicing all over the country of Misira (Egypt). Everyone,  
whether a beggar in the street, or a king ran (to see you).  
They sent you to bathe in the Nile, and everyone,  
whether a layman or a king was pleased to see you.

And another day I find today, when the same face of  
yours is covered with dust. What has become of that  
singular beauty of yours which had enchanted the  
whole world?

When I saw you in a dream, I was at once in love with  
you,  
and when I actually saw you, I was under the pangs  
of your separation.

For your sake, my lord, I came to Misira (i.e., Egypt)  
and said, "For what reason have I been unfortunate?"

The Maker proved my love to be sincere,  
He made me hard like stone.

When, dear, you turned your face from me,  
my life would come back when I saw you.

I spent forty years of my life in *yōga*,  
and when I heard your name I gave my all.

Whenever anyone would utter your name before me  
he got from me a lakh, or whatever there was with me.  
For twenty years I lived on your looks, and for another  
twenty years I lived on the sound of your name.

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Now, your looks have been covered by dust, and also I  
shall not bear your name now. Now, neither I have your  
glimpses nor do I hear your name. On whom should I  
depend for the purpose of staying here (in this world)?

Nā piu bōla sumāvahu  
 nā aba darasana dēhu.  
 Karahu dayā pata rākhau  
 Yaha jiu āpana lēhu.

Aba pati rahai jo jāi prānā  
 Dhirika jīva tuma bina jahā mānā.  
 Jivana bhalā jaba lahi piu hōi  
 Binā piu dhrika jivana sōhī.  
 Piu bina sūna sabhai sansārā  
 Sukha sampati saba piu bina jārā.  
 Binā piu kōi saṅghāñi nāhī  
 Kehi bidhi rahai prāna ghaṣa māhī.  
 Jarai jāi sukha sampati sājā  
 Binā piu āvai naḥī kājā.  
 Piu kē saṅgha jo hōi bhikhārī  
 Binā piu sukha sampati balikhārī.  
 Piu ke saṅgha bhalā bhikasai māhī  
 Binā piu sukha bilasai nāhī.  
 Tuma bina kantha jagata adhiyārā  
 Bhaeu vjāra sabhai sansārā.  
 Nīthura prāna jo aba lahi roheū  
 Pāhana hiyā nithura dukha saheū.

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Khāi pachāra jo chāra para  
 Karai āha eka bār.  
 Pañchī prāna to vṛi gaeu  
 Rahī chāra māha chāra.

Neither do you, my dear, make me hear your voice,  
nor you give me your glimpses.  
Be kind and save me from blemish,  
and accept this life which is yours.  
Now, my honour will be saved only if my spirit departs.  
Cursed be my spirit if it likes to stay without you.  
Life is desirable only as long as the dear one lives,  
and the same life is cursed without the dear one.  
Without the dear one the whole world is dreary,  
and without the dear one, all comforts and riches are  
worthless.

Without the dear one, none is a companion,  
how should then the life spirit stay in the body ?  
May the comforts and riches burn away !  
For without the dear one, they are of no use.  
It is better to be a beggar with the dear one,  
but without the dear one the comforts and the riches  
should be thrown away ;  
with the dear one it is better to dwell in miseries  
but without him one should not indulge into luxuries.  
Without you, my lord, the world is dark,  
and the whole world is deserted.  
My life spirit is piti-less, that it stays in my body even now,  
and stone-like is my heart which has endured this  
disaster."

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When falling aback on the tomb  
she released a sigh,  
the bird-like life spirit of hers flew away,  
and the dust was left with the dust.





## APPENDIX II

### MODERN AWADHI TEXTS

(a) **gul-gulaz-wazir-kathaz** (Lakhimpur)

(b) **chando** (Lakhimpur)

[These two specimens were given to the author by his mother in 1921 and appeared first in the author's monograph on Lakhimpur (published in 1923). The old lady spoke pure Awadhi. Alas! she is no more in this world, having breathed her last on June 1, 1931.]

(c) **cwazran ki kathaz** (Sitapur)

[From Jagannath, V. Jihuri, 2 miles to the south of Ramköt, Dt. Sitapur.]

(d) **thakuran ki basaiduriz** (Lucknow)

[From Ram Sahai of Amani, Dt. Lucknow.]

(e) **ādāre ki beimazniz** (Unao)

[From an inhabitant of a village, 2 miles to the north of Manrāwān, Dt. Unao.]

(f) **larikini ki pati-sezwaz** (Fatehpur)

[From Sanwāl Abir of V. Catanpur, Pargana Kōṛā, Dt. Fatehpur, a place 4 miles from the boundary of Cawnpore district—by the courtesy of Fatehchand Varma.]

(g) **gurus kiñez ke phal** (Bahraich)

[From Tulsī Gaṛariyā, of Mankāpur, 6 miles to the west of Bahraich.]

(h) **bazmīān au bokaraz keṛr kathaz** (Barabanki)

[Collected by Pt. Lalit Prasad Sukul.]

(i) **sijaz au sijazin** (Gonda)

[From Harmohan Singh of V. Mahuābirāhim, Tahsil Utraulā, 28 miles from Gonda.]

(j) **ba:ba: ki kara:mat** (Fyzabad)

[From Lachiman of V. Bichā, 5 miles to the south-west of Fyzabad town.]

(k) **kace:lori: maz bajazn** (Sultanpur)

[Statement of Jagwanti, wife of Ramanand, of V. Gaṛṛī, Dt. Sultanpur, in the Court of Mr. Chintamani, Dy. Collector.]

(l) **mukadimar kai hazl** (Partabgarh)

[Collected by Pt. Lalta Prasad Sukul.]

(m) **bam:lani: kai bajazn** (Allahabad)

[Statement of a Brahmin woman of a village on the Eastern boundary of Allahabad district, by the courtesy of B. Saligram, Reader, Collector's Court, Allahabad.]

(n) **bhikhar: ba:zman kai kathar** (Allahabad)

[Collected by Pt. Lalta Prasad Sukul, from a resident of a village, 32 miles to the east of Allahabad towards Mirzapur.]



### (a) gulgulaxwaxlix kathax

erkraxjax raxaĩ au mañotaxrix raxai au dulañin raxai. mañotaxrix rojxu chapian parkaxi kə bñoxjan banaxwai au apnax khaxi au apnex larika kə khawaxwai. dulañin khaxtir erk bejñari kə roxtix sərkai, axdñix roxtix au loixnu sabexrex dexi au axdñix sapñia kə. ui maxrex guxiakə roxtix ðeñarija mo ðaxri dexĩ au loixnu gagari mo naxi axwaĩ. aĩxai karti karti baxrax baxai gudari gaĩx. tab erk din buxtñax gulgulax kiñin. gulgulax jhāxi kə dñari diñin au apnax disai calix gaĩx. jaxti berijax bañu sə kañi gaĩx kə 'dulañin aĩx dekhex raxeu.' bañux, jalex ui lautaĩ talex, tiñj gulgulax nikaxri liñin. khaxisj naxix, dñari axix. talex buxtñax axi gaĩx. kulax ulax kai kai apax axtñijax derkhin jaxi. tau kañin 'dulañin kax ix mo kə gulgulax tum liñex hau?' dulañin boxtix 'ham buax ham naxix liñen hai kax mazlum bilaijax lai gai hoxi, gai raxai ui wax.' tau bilaijax kañisj 'raxu tui, tui kax mai tiñi pazni se no dñoxi dexi tau mai kaxñe kə. tui liñex au mai kax coxix lagaxjex.'

taxi kai jab səxtñi bñai tab raxnax apaxi khatñijax bichaxin, dijax baxri kə dñarin. jab raxja kə kaceñeri sə lautaĩ mo dexr derkhin tau kahin

## Translation

### (a) A story about *gulgulās*<sup>1</sup>

There lived a certain king with his mother and wife. The mother used to prepare food of fifty-six varieties daily and she and her son used to partake of it. For the daughter-in-law, however, she baked a loaf of millet and gave half a loaf and salt to her in the morning and half in the evening. She, on account of anger, threw the bread into a big earthen pot and poured the salt into a jar. In this way twelve years passed. One day the old lady prepared *gulgulās*. She covered them and having done so she went out to ease<sup>2</sup> herself. While going she said to the daughter-in-law: "Daughter-in-law, keep an eye in this direction." Before the old lady returned, the daughter-in-law took out three *gulgulās*. She did not eat them but put them away. The old lady returned and after rinsing her mouth<sup>3</sup> went and looked at her wooden vessel.<sup>4</sup> Then she said: "Daughter-in-law, is it you who have taken the *gulgulās* from this?" The daughter-in-law replied: "I, mother, I have not taken any. Who knows but that the cat may have taken them, she has been that way." The cat, then, said: "All right, you wretch, I am not a cat if I do not wash you out altogether.<sup>5</sup> You took them and attributed the theft to me."

Thereafter when it became dark,<sup>6</sup> the queen arranged her bedding and lighted the lamp. When she saw that there was some delay in the king's return home from the court

<sup>1</sup> *gulgulā* is the name of a special Indian preparation made of flour and sugar, it is also called *pua* at some places.

<sup>2</sup> 'To go out or to go to the quarters' (literal trans.) is a euphemism for attending to nature's call.

<sup>3</sup> To rinse the mouth, i.e., to wash the mouth, hands and feet.

<sup>4</sup> *aṛhiya* is a big wooden vessel to put eatables in.

<sup>5</sup> *tsai pani se dhōi dēū*—lit, wash you away with three waters, i.e., destroy you completely.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. when it became evening.

'laxox talex sori lexiz.' in kaffi kai soiwai laigti. bilaijaz kaz kifisij. koxi kj pagijaz uthazi laxiz au unki khatija po dñari difisij, koxi kj tarwazri lai kai huañ dñari difisij, au koxi kq jurtaz uthazi laxiz so palka kq tarex dñarisij azi. Atiaz sarmazn dñari kai bilaijaz apnax caliz gai.

razjaz jab kaceñeri se azjox derkhañ kaz koxi kq jurtaz dñarez, koxi kj tarwazri, koxi kj pagijaz. razjaz man maz anjoxide ki koxiz mardu razniz tizx azwax hai. tau añcinj tarwazri ki izkaz mazqaribar. tau dijaz bozlañ 'razjaz samujñi ko mazreu.' razjaz tizni daxñ tarwazri uthazinj au dijaz tizniu daxñ tirbaxcakq difisij. tau razjaz tarwazri dñarij diflinij au loxtaz lai kai pakbazner caliz gajex.

etrix deir mo razniz jargi parñi tau dijaz baññari diflinij. dija kq darwaxje po kũññ rafiñai, razjaz huañ kulxaz karti rafiñai. jab dijaz apnax gñar paññicax tau maññotaxrix kafiñij ki 'bñaijaz aizu baññi deir lagaxjeu, mai khazi ko liññex baññhi rafiñai.' dijaz kafiñij 'maññotaxrijaz kuchu pñichau naz, razniz par baññi bipati pariz hai.' razjaz thaxññi boi kai sunai laig. maññotaxrix kafiñij 'kazññex bñaijaz?' dijaz jais jais baññ bñawax rafiñai tais sab bataxi difisij. razjaz sab suni kai gñar kaz azjox au oxññi ko paññhi rafiñex.

jab bñoxru bñawax tau maññotaxrix phiri chapzan parkaxi kq bñoxjan banaxinj au kafiñij 'bñaijaz khazu azi.' razjaz kafiñij 'bux parsau.' uiezk thaxrijaz parsinj. razjaz kafiñij 'daxariu parsau.' ui doisari parsinj. razjaz kafiñij 'tisariu parsau.' buñññax

she said to herself: "Let me sleep for a while." Having said so she went to sleep. And what did the cat do? She brought somebody's turban and placed it on her bedstead and took somebody's sword and placed it there. She also brought somebody's shoes and put them under the bedstead. She put these things there and went away.

When the king returned from the court he saw that there were somebody's shoes and somebody's sword and turban. From it he concluded that some man had come to the queen. On this he drew his sword in order to kill her. The lamp spoke out: "O king, learn the truth before you kill her." The king thrice drew the sword out and the lamp forbade<sup>1</sup> him all the three times. He then put down the sword, took the *lāṭā*<sup>2</sup> and went away to attend to nature's call.

Meanwhile the queen woke up and put out<sup>3</sup> the lamp. There was a well before the door (of the house) of the lamp. The king was rinsing his mouth there. When the lamp reached home, his mother said: "My son, you are very late to-day, I have all along been sitting with the food ready." The lamp replied: "Dear mother, do not ask anything, great calamity has befallen the queen." The king stood there and listened. The mother asked: "What is the matter, dear son?" The lamp related everything that had happened. The king heard everything, came home and having covered himself up, lay down.

When it became morning, the mother again prepared food of fifty-six varieties and asked her son to eat it. The king asked her to serve. She served one dish. He asked her to serve another. She served another. He asked her to serve a third. The old lady said to him: "Come, let us

<sup>1</sup> *tīrbacak diḥisi*—lit. spoke three times, i.e., in a decisive manner.

<sup>2</sup> *lāṭā* is a small brass or bronze vessel to contain water.

<sup>3</sup> *baṛhas diḥini*—(lit. lengthened or developed) is a euphemism for extinguished.



kāṣinī 'arox ham tum kbaxiz, dulaṣin kharwax kari-  
 ṣaṭ.' tau razjāz kāṣinī 'naxiz tisariu parsau.' jab  
 tisariu tharijāz parsi gai, tau razjāz kāṣinī 'razniz  
 khazu ari.' razniz kāṣinī 'sunau razjāz bairaz barsai  
 birti gaṭi tab na kabṣaṭ pūzcheu. azju kaz hai?'  
 iu kāṣi kai qeṣṣerija kī rozṭiz azgez kurai diṣinī au  
 gagari ke loinu āzgan mē naxi diṣinī. buzṭṣāz mazri  
 ke khisiyazi gaṭi au wafṣez tizr mari kai rabi gaṭi.  
 razjāz razniz baṣut din razji kiṣinī.

jaisēz un kez din baṣurez taisez sab kez baṣuraṭ.

take our meal, the daughter-in-law may eat food afterwards." But the king said, "No, serve a third dish also." When the third dish was also served, he asked the queen to come and eat. The queen replied, "Hear, O king, twelve years have passed and never did you ask me (to eat). What is the matter to-day?" Having spoken so, she brought out the bread from the earthen pot and put it all before him and poured out the salt from the jar in the courtyard. The old lady got very much ashamed and died on the very spot. The king and the queen reigned for many a day. May<sup>1</sup> everybody's good days return as did theirs.

<sup>1</sup> This is the prayer with which every story ends. It shows that a story may relate unhappy events but always has a happy end.

(b) chando

soiwaŋ ki jaɣaŋ moɾiɾ aɪdŋi bŋawainiɾ jaɣat  
keɾiɾ raɪniɾ, akabaɾ ʈaɪɣŋeɪ duaiɾ, hoɾ bali jaɣū.  
(1)

kiz tum akabaɾ paɾchaŋ aɪjeu, aɾeɪ paɾchaŋ  
aɪjeu, kiz tum daɾsaŋ aɪjeu, bali jaɣū. (2)

naɪ haŋ maɪtaɪ moɾiɾ paɾchaŋ aɪjeŋ, aɾeɪ  
paɾchaŋ aɪjeŋ, naɪ haŋ daɾsaŋ aɪjeŋ, bali jaɣū. (3)

## Translation

### (b) A song<sup>1</sup> in praise of Bhawānī

*Note 1.*—Bhawānī is one of the seven powerful goddesses. She is sometimes also identified with Bhawānī, Siva's wife. Her abode is on the hills. The story goes that once Akbar thought of throwing her image (usually of stone) out and so he went to the temple of the goddess. The present song is the dialogue between the two.

*Note 2.*—For the sake of rhythm the words in a song undergo some changes which are not generally visible in ordinary speech. For instance, a short *a* is added to every word which ends in a consonant, final vowels are often lengthened and the long vowels in the middle of a word are often shortened.

*Note 3.*—The language of songs is often somewhat borrowed and archaic. For instance, in verse we have the obl. inf. in *-an* (*kaṭan*) side by side with *-ai* form (*jarai*).

1. "Are you sleeping or waking, my Ādhi Bhawānī<sup>2</sup>, queen of the world, Akbar stands before your door, I bow to you<sup>3</sup>."

2. "Akbar, have you come here for the sake of *parchan*<sup>4</sup> or for *darsan*<sup>5</sup>?" I bow to you.

3. "My mother, I have come here neither to do *parchan*, yes, to do *parchan* nor to have your *darsan*, I bow to you."

<sup>1</sup> *chanda* is the term used for the songs in praise of gods and goddesses, chiefly goddesses.

<sup>2</sup> *Ādhi Bhawānī*—name of one of the seven sisters—the healer of all pains.

<sup>3</sup> *bali jāu*—I adore, I bow; this is the burden of the song.

<sup>4</sup> *parchan* < Sanskrit *prakṣālana*; this signifies the special rite of pouring water—chiefly Ganges water—over the image of a god or goddess.

<sup>5</sup> *darsan* < Sanskrit *darśana*, visiting, seeing, used only of gods and saints and elders to whom respect is due.

ham tau martaz moxrix laṭneṭ ko azjen, arez laṭneṭ ko azjen, nikari na laṭau maidan, bali jarū. (4)

tumfiarez tau akabar phaujai baṣut haĩ, arez phaujai baṣut haĩ, hamarez tau negular akoṛl, bali jarū. (5)

tumfiarez tau akabar qṣaxl tarwarijaz arez toṛbai bandukhijaz, hamarez phuxlan keṛiz maṛl, bali jarū. (6)

jari kaṣeu ui durgaz baṣinin aiger, angaz martaz aiger, ui sartau baṣinin aiger, tābuan aigi uṭharwaĩ, bali jarū. (7)

jaraĩ laṛgaĩ tābuaṛ kaṭan laṛgaĩ qorrix, kaṭan laṛgaĩ qorrix, tab ham aṛdṣi bṣawainiz, bali jarū. (8)

jaraĩ laṛgez tābuaṛ, kaṭan laṛgĩṛ qorrix, kaṭan laṛgĩṛ qorrix, ab ham aṛdṣi bṣawainiz, bali jarū, ab ham jagat bṣawainiz, bali jarū. (9)

akabar būṛdṣi paṭijaz larkaṛwaĩ, paṭijaz larkaṛwaĩ, bizbiz eḡ dainaz daraxwaĩ, bali jarū. (10)

ham tau jainiz martaz kūṛkar paṛthar, arez kūṛkar paṛthar, nikariṛ haĩ aṛdṣi bṣawainiz, bali jarū, nikariṛ haĩ jagat bakhainiz, bali jarū. (11)

abtiz beṛ tum paṛjṣau bṣawainiz, arez paṛjṣau maṣṣarainiz, ab naṛṣiṛ paṛbat axib, bali jarū, ab naṛiz paṛbat axib, bali jarū. (12)

soṛwau ki jaṛgau moxrix aṛdṣi bṣawainiz, jagat koṛrix raṛniz, akabar ṭharṣṣez duaṛ, hoṛ bali jarū.

4. "My mother, I have come here to have a fight with you, yes, to have a fight, why not come out and fight, I bow to you."

5. "You Akbar, you have many armies, yes many armies, while I have the solitary *negulā*,<sup>6</sup>" I bow to you.

6. "You Akbar, you have shields and swords, yes, rifles and guns, I have only the garland of flowers," I bow to you.

[Bhawānī now sends her messengers to her sisters and it is not long before they arrive to help her.]

7. "Go before sister Durgā, before Aṅgarmātā, yes before all the seven<sup>7</sup> sisters and ask them to set fire to the tents," I bow to you.

8. "When the tents begin to be burnt, when the strings begin to be cut down, yes to be cut down, then shall I be Ādhi Bhawānī," I bow to you.

9. The tents began to be burnt, the strings began to be cut. "Now I am Ādhi Bhawānī, now I am Bhawānī of the world," I bow to you.

10. They bind Akbar to a beam,<sup>8</sup> yes let him hang there and make his wife<sup>9</sup> grind corn, I bow to you.

11. "Mother, I thought you were only gravel and stone, yes only gravel and stone, but you have come out to be Ādhi Bhawānī, yes come out to be the celebrated goddess of the world, I bow to you."

12. "Be pleased, O Bhawānī, this time, yes pardon, O Empress of the world, never shall I come again to the hills, never shall I come again to the hills, I bow to you."

"Are you sleeping or waking, my Ādhi Bhawānī, queen of the world, Akbar stands before your door, I bow to you."

<sup>6</sup> *negulā*—the name given to the single boy-defender of the goddesses, who remains always with them.

<sup>7</sup> The goddesses are seven in number and all of them are sisters born of the same parents; *Durgā*, *Aṅgarmātā*, *Bhawānī* are three of them. *Durgā* is the goddess of small-pox, *Aṅgarmātā* burns everything and *Bhawānī* is the healing goddess.

<sup>8</sup> *paṭiyā* is the name given to the beams used to make a cot, there are four such in every cot.

<sup>9</sup> *bibi*—wife, here the Queen.

### (c) cwaizran ki kathar

jarksaññ rāññāñ. taunkex pichowairez roicizwaize azwatj rāññāñ. tau phirj jark din phirj arjex. tau saññ kaññin ki “djarkbau jiz rupajaz diflex rāññan taun kaññāñ dñarēñ.” tau saññuni kaññinj “āñgan kē arrem dñarēñ.” waññi max largiz rāññāñ barñaijaz. tau saññizwaiz rāññāñ sunti. tau phirj raxti ko cwaiz arjex. tau phirj orkq cwaiz gawaz waññi max haxthq dazrij difñisj. ui kex barñaijaz kartj khazinj. ta ux bñarjaz. dwaizax kaññai larg “ux tau uñharjex sab liñex jaxti. hamaññu lajazjiz jaxi.” tau waññau lai kai bñarjaz. jaññex tanax sataññūñ kiññin. waññi din cwaiz aponez gñarai calox gajex.

dwasarex din phirj arjex. tab saññi aponez āñgan me admi kē buñarū orku gaññāñaz khodaxin, ui max sñrax bñarowaxin. tau saññi saññuni terex bozlex ki “ui phuzl kerex bartan kaññāñ dñareñ?” tau phirj saññuni kaññin “raxti ko na buñññar karau. āñgan kerex qeññuka m dñarēñ.” ta ui saxtau cwaiz sunti rāññāñ. tab gñar kex jab sab janex soxi saxi gajex ta wai cwaiz saxtau arjex, tau āñgan kerex qeññukam orkq paññilex paññhax. tab dwaizax kaññati “iu tau sab baññorex lexti hamaññux baññolrexiz.” ta waññau phāññi parax. jaññex tanax sataññūñ phāññi parex ui max.

## Translation

### (c) The story of the thieves

There lived a banker.<sup>1</sup> Thieves used to resort to the back side of his (house) daily. Then again one day they came. The banker said: "See, the money that I had given to you, where have you placed it?" The banker's wife replied: "It is in the nook<sup>2</sup> of the courtyard." There were wasps in it. The seven thieves were hearing. At night the thieves came. One thief went and put his hand in it (the nook). The wasps stung him and he fled. The second thief said (to himself): "He is taking all of it away, let me also take it." And he also fled after taking it. All the seven did in this manner. The thieves on that day went to their home.

On the second day, (they) came again. The banker had got a pit dug in which a man could get drowned and got it filled up with molasses.<sup>3</sup> The banker said to his wife: "Where are those vessels made of *phūl*<sup>4</sup>? The banker's wife replied: "Don't ask (such questions) at night. They are in the courtyard's cellar." All the seven thieves were hearing. When all the people of the (banker's) house had gone to sleep, the seven thieves came and one (of them) entered the cellar of the courtyard. Then the second said (to himself): "He is collecting all of them. Let me also pick up." And he also got in. In this manner all the seven went in it (and got drowned).

<sup>1</sup> *śaḥ*—a banker, moneylender, usually of the *Vaiśya* caste.

<sup>2</sup> *ār*—a small recess in the walls, particularly on both the sides of the doors.

<sup>3</sup> *śira*—The juice of sugar-cane is boiled first and then the solid part is separated to make sugar and the liquid part remains, this is known *śira*.

<sup>4</sup> *phūl*—a metal made by a combination of several base-metals, it is one of the costly metals and makes beautiful vessels.



bñorafiñ: berrez erke phakirre arwar ta wafitez saññuni buxñini "din bñarem tum kai paseeriz narju parwati hau?" ta uz kañisij "ham tizni paseeriz narju pariti hai." tau saññuni kañini "djaikhau iz cwair ke uñhaz ke tair me qairi arwor, ham caxri paseeriz dezib." tauz qairi arwar. tab saññuni kañini ki "tum na maxlum kaiser qairi arwati u iu tau phirij bñargi arwar." jaflex tanax dwaxsar qairai gajex tapxhirij kañini saññuni "tum na maxlum kaiser qairati hau iu deikhau phirij gñuimi arwar." jaflex tanax sataññuz kañiñ qairi arjer tapxhirij jab satawñ qairai gajex, tau ñuñ erke dñorbiñ chñrtati raññai kapañax. tau cwair ke ui tair me qairin tab uz dñorbiñ qerazi ke bñargax. tab uz phakirre kañisij "beir beir sair bñargij jaxti raññai abakiz saire k pakari ñiñen." ta wafitez kaz mairi kañiñ waflex tair maiññ qairi diñin. tab uz saññuni tñr gawax, kañai laig "jaun beir beir dextiz raññau taun abakiz saire ko mairi ke qairi arjen." ta wafitez kaz saññuni narju diñin caxri paseeriz.

At the time of dawn there came a Fakir. Then the banker's wife asked him: "How many *pansēris*<sup>1</sup> of corn do you get in a whole day?" Then he said: "I get three *pansēris* of corn in a day." The banker's wife said: "See, lift this thief and throw him in the tank, I shall give you four *pansēris*." He went and threw him. Then the banker's wife said: "I do not know how you throw, he has fled back again." In this manner, he (the Fakir) went to throw the second. Then the banker's wife said again: "I wonder how you throw, see, he has returned again." In this manner he threw all the seven. When he went to throw the seventh, there was a washerman washing clothes. When the Fakir threw the thief in the tank, the washerman fled out of fright. Then the Fakir thought: "the rascal<sup>2</sup> used to run away again and again; this time I have caught him." And killed him and threw him in the tank. Then he went to the banker's wife and began to say: "Him whom you gave (to me) again and again, I have killed and thrown away." Then the banker's wife gave him four *pansēris* of corn.

<sup>1</sup> *pansēri*, Hindustāni *pansēri*—a weight of five seers; a seer is of a little over two pounds.

<sup>2</sup> *asīr*—lit. 'wife's brother,' thence a term of rebuke.

(d) thakuran ki basaidurir

gadar mo ham das gjarafi barso ke rafiān. ham kar sudhisab hai. basisai pakari gajer rafiā. āgarerj kafiñ “ham kar casarāmp dezu,”; basisai deri laig. āgarerjan derkhinī basisai narai garwai mo parex fiā tab un kar pakari lai gor. gorar sabberli mo ari gajer.

munisingsi hamar casar rafiā. tiz basisai ke karinda ki nar karñinī rafiā. sisamāli warler malisarbaid ke pāthain bolāñinī. das siparñiz, erke erke churrai au erke erke dāñdaz. munar au papcam au pāñalwain biasñ karibai nariz kiñinī rafiā. tau pāthain ui mar erke barar berqñab rafiā. uz kafiñ “munisingsi sunen rafiā tum barer basaidur hau, āgarerjan sq lajer rafiā. hamarex pāthainan sarth na lajer. das din tumarex makarn mo arjer hoiger.” un kiz cauparri baniz rafiā tefi ma ter nikarri diñinī rafiā. au erke bāgalaz rafiā tiz mar tizni bñazi rafiātj rafiā. tau kafiñ “karñi ham tum ter lajab. phirj na kñeu ki ham kar marinī.”

tau bñozrj jab bñaz tab das thañ karñiz hamñanan ki bolāñinī. un kar mīthariz khawarinī. unkar cāri cāri paisar dachinar diñinī au jor kuch bācar taun apenar tizni bñazi khari liñinī. kafiñ “ab sudharau hamar siparñizarnar derkhau.” tab marri larñinī tizni bñazi girari diñinī. wñer sab coñzi gajer. tau jamaidax jaun barar tabarar boñti rafiā, kafiñ “iz kiz nar ham jarur karñab. jiz ham kar roñiz nariz khari diñisj.” wñiz nar karñi liñinī, kafiñ “hamar dñarñau siparñizarnar ab.”

## Translation

### (d) The Bravery of Thākura

At (the time of) the mutiny I was ten (or) eleven years old. I have every recollection. The Bādshāh was captured. The English said : " Give us one-fourth (of your revenue)." The Bādshāh began to give it. The English saw that the Bādshāh was given to dance and music. Then they caught him (and) the white people occupied the quarters.

Munna Singh was my uncle. He had cut off the nose of the agent of the Bādshāh. (The Nawāb) of Shishmahal called ten Pathān soldiers of Malihabad. (They had) each one knife and one *lāṭhī*. Munna and Pancam and Pahalwan (were bachelors) had not married. Then there was one Pathān amongst them who was very naughty. He said : "Munna Singh ! I had heard that you are very brave and that you had fought with the British. (But) you did not fight with us, the Pathāns. It is ten days that we came to your house." Their shed it was from which they had been turned out. There was a bungalow in which all the three brothers resided. Then (Munna Singh and his brothers) said : " We shall fight with you to-morrow. Do not say, later, that they killed us."

When it was morning, they called ten daughters of the Brahmins, fed them on sweetmeats and gave them four pice each as gift. And whatever (of the sweetmeats) remained, they ate up. (Then they) said : " Get ready now and see our soldiership." Then the three brothers by their *lāṭhī* strokes brought all of them down. They all got injured. Then the Jamādār who spoke very sharply, (with reference to him) (they said) : " We shall cut off this man's nose. He made it hard for us to eat our meals (lit. bread)." They cut his nose (and) said : " Now see our soldiership."

sai bhare ki sagar bhari. jab masti mai bhari  
chutai ke rahi tab adhai singhi dard ke te mili  
kai muni singhi ke jee me jahi dewari ke  
marwai daini.

They were sentenced for one year. When there remained one month for (their) release, Adhar Singh, in conspiracy with the Doctor, got Munna Singh poisoned in the jail and caused his death.

(e) Ādhiare kī beimāzniz

jark samai erkp ādhiar aīdmiz ratraz ratraz calaz jaxti rāṣai, dezkhati rāṣaī ki meṣarijaz au mansawaz laizṣi m baith calaz jaxti rāṣaī. tau meṣereizwaī kaṣai mansawaz tē ki “jāṣi kaz laizṣi m baithaz lezu”. kaṣin “ādhiar aīdmiz beimāzn hōt hai jāṣi kaz na baithazwau laizṣi m.” kaṣin “naxiz baithazlēzu, jāb beimāzniz karai tab ham ter batāzjeu.” un baithazlēzn. tā un ter ādhiarāuz tē pūzchin “kaṣāz par tum utariṣau laizṣiz par ter.” kaṣin “utari parau jo aīṣiṣiz jāiṣau.” tā un kaṣai “laizṣiz baith hamāz aī, ham kaṣiē kō utariz, tum utari parau.” pulis kē sipāzṣiz rāṣaī tā huāz rāzja kē lagez un kaz pakari lai gēz. tau rāzjaz kaṣiēni “tum-ṣāzri pēziz aīju na hōziz kaṣiṣi hōziz.” tizn koṭharin mō tīṣū kō jark jark kō bāndō kai deṣin. tizniū jagaz par erkp erkp sipāzṣiz baithaz deṣin. uī jāznin nāz ki sipāzṣiz baithaī. rāzjaz kaṣin “jāundē iz rāzti kō kaṣaī tāun sāberrez ham kaz batāzjeu.” aurat rāzti kō kaṣati rāṣai ki “hamāz mansawaz kaṣati rāṣai ‘iz kaz na baithāzōz’ mulaz ham baithāzī liṣin.” tā mānsauz kaṣin ki “meṣerija k kaṣai nā karai kō caṣiz, dezkhau ham kaṣit rāṣi gēz ki ‘iz kaz na baithāzōz,’ beimāzniz kai gāz.” ādhiarāuz kaṣaī “rāzjaz aī jo nijāzu buzṣi jāziz tau tizni mō erkp dēwaibai kariz.” rāzjaz sāberrez pāṣar sipāzṣin tō pūzchaz ki “aurat kaz bāz kaṣiē.”

...

...

...

...

phirī rāzjaz kaṣin “iz kaz kuchp nā dezu, iz kaz māzri kō kberdzēzu.”

## Translation

### (e) A Blind Man's Trickery

At one time, a certain blind man was going on a path. It was seen that a husband and wife, seated in a cart, were going. Then the wife said to the husband: "Take him in the cart." (He) said: "A blind man is dishonest usually, do not give him a seat." (She) said: "No, give him a seat, tell me when he practises dishonesty." He gave (him) a seat. Then (he) asked the blind man: "Where will you get down from the cart? You may get down if you go in this direction." He said: "The cart and bullock belong to me, why should I get down, you may get down." There were policemen, they caught them and took them to the king. The king said: "Your case will be put up to-morrow, not to-day." (He) shut up all the three, one by one, in three rooms. In all the three places (he) appointed a soldier each. They did not know that the soldier was sitting. The king instructed: "Whatever they say at night, tell it to me in the morning." The woman was saying at night: "My man was saying 'do not seat him,' but I gave him a seat." The husband said: "One should not do according to the woman's request, see I kept on saying 'do not seat him,' he did practise dishonesty." The blind man says: "He is a king, if he understands the case, he will cause one of the three (woman, cart and bullock) to be given (to me)." The king, in the morning, asked the soldiers: "What did the woman say?"

[Here follow the three statements of the three persons, one by one; these have been dropped to avoid repetition.]

Then the king said: "Do not give him (the blind man) anything, beat him and turn him out."



(f) larikini ki pati-sezwaz

erk barazmñan raññai so wofñ maññazdero kai serwaz kai caloz. tab maññazdero parsando bñez. hāz tab kaññen ki “māzḡ lezo jo māzḡai kaz hoxi.” hāz tab barazmñan kaññesi ki “ham kaz erk larikaz dero.” tab uiz kaññen ki “djaiz tau pai jab biaññi hui jaziz tab lai ljaizb.” tab barazmñan aponez man mōz khjazl kiññesi ki “ham biaññi naz karab, tab kaññez lai ljaizñāñ.” phir un kez bazlak diñññeni.

hāz tab ui bazlak sajazn bñez tab biaññez kaz lozḡ bozḡ daufañ laiz, tab barazmñan inekazr kiññ ki “biaññi na kariboz.” tab maññotaxriz larikaz kai kaññāñ laiz ki “maññ jabarjastiz biaññi karññāñ.” tab barazmñan mazroz kurezdñi ke nikari kai cali bñaz ki “jaññ biaññi ke tñāññi naz raññāñ.” jazj ke erk kuāz ke pars paññūci gaz. kuāz ke pars carri larikiniz khezlati tñz. tab erk sakñiz bozlix ki “kuch baxt kaññaz.” tab erk bozlix ki “tum aponez sazurez jaiññaz to kaz karññaz.” tab waz sakñiz bozlix ki “jab jaiññāñ tab erk cuzl lai jaiññāñ, to jaxtai jaxt judiz hui jaiññāñ.” tab duizari sakñiz bozlix ki “jab maññ jaiññāñ tab baññhaniz lai jaiññāñ, tab hwan sex sab baññozri laiññāñ.” tab tizari bozlix ki “maññ jaiññāñ tab dijazsaraxiz lai jaiññāñ. tab duarñez te argiz lagaññāñ.” tab cauthi bozlix ki “mwazr kaññth<sup>1</sup> jo erk paññar jizax hoxiz to dui paññar jaiññāñ.”

tab waz barazmñan oiz larikiz ke pars cali bñaz. tab larikiz aponez makazn me paññūci. tab barazmñan baññthi gaz jazj. tab larikiz ke ḡñar kez maz baxp azjox tab pūzcheni ki “tum kaññāñ raññat ñjaz.

<sup>1</sup> Obviously an error for kantō.

## Translation

### (f) A Girl's devotion to her Husband

There was a Brahmin. He went to serve Mahādeva. And Mahādeva was pleased and (he) said: "Ask whatever you want to ask." Then the Brahmin said: "Give me a son." He said: "I shall surely give one but when he marries, I shall take him back." At that the Brahmin thought to himself: "I shall not marry him, how then will (the god) take him?" Then a son was given to him.

The boy grew up. People began to run for his marriage but the Brahmin refused (saying): "I shall not marry (him)." Then the boy's mother said: "I shall marry (my son) by force." The Brahmin went out (of the house) out of wrath: "I shall not remain here in place of marriage." Having gone he reached near a well. There were four maids playing near the well. One of the friends said: "Say something." Then one said: "When you will go to your father-in-law's, what will you do?" That friend said: "When I shall go, I shall carry an oven, and as soon as I arrive I shall get a separation (from other people of the family)." Then another friend said: "When I go, I shall carry a broomstick and shall sweep away everything and bring it with me." The third said: "If I go, I shall carry a match-box and shall set everything on fire from the very entrance." The fourth said: "If my beloved would be living for one watch, I shall endeavour to make him live for two watches."

The Brahmin went near that girl. And the girl reached her home. The Brahmin went and sat there. The girl's parents came and asked: "Where do you reside? What

kaun jasti azhiu." kañar ki "barazmñan azhiñj." tab larikiz ke baip pūzchesi ki "tum kañer kaz azjau." tab waz barazmñan kañesi ki "torriz larikiz au moxrez larikaz ki sardiz hoxi cañiz." tab ui larikiz ke gñar kez ui barazmñan kaz mazrañ laig au kañañ laig ki "saxrez ham aponiz larikiz kaz biazñ torrez larikaz ke sarth na karibex." tab barazmñan anxo painiz chāz diznñōsi au qeseriz māx last lagaze kai par rañox ki 'larikiz kaz biazñ na karñar to mai mari jaiñāñ." waz phirijazd razjaz khijāz gai.

tab razjaz un kaz bolaxinj ki "kañer kaz mazrañ jani jesi kaz." tab wofi larikiz kez gñar kez kañañ laig ki "saxñeb jaz jabarjastiz biazñ karat hai moxriz larikiz kaz." tab razjaz kul pūzchi kai kañesi ki "biazñ kai djaz, acñhar hai." tab biazñ huñz sañiz huigaz. tab barazmñanex aponez gñar kaz cali bñar. aponez gñar māx paññūcoz tab barazmñani puñchāi laig ki "tum kañāz gez tjoz aur kaz kari azjox." "larikaz kez biazñ ke khwazj kaz gez ten. biazñ sañiz kar azjen."

caste do you belong to?" (He) said: "I am a Brahmin." Then the girl's father asked: "Why have you come?" The Brahmin said: "It is necessary that your daughter and my son should marry together." At that the people of that girl began to beat the Brahmin and to say: "Rascal! we shall not marry our daughter to your son." The Brahmin, then, gave up eating and drinking and fixing a foot on the threshold lay down (saying): "If you will not marry (your) daughter (to my son), I shall die." The complaint was lodged at the king's.

The king called them (and asked): "Why did you beat him?" The girl's people said: "Sir, he is forcibly marrying our daughter." The king then asked everything and said: "Do marry (your daughter). It is nice." The marriage, thus was settled there. The Brahmin started for his residence. When he reached home his wife asked: "Where had you gone and what did you accomplish?" (He replied): "I went in search of the son's marriage and have settled it."

NOTE.—The story, later on, relates how when the daughter-in-law arrived she was able to prolong the life of her husband by propitiating the deities.

<sup>1</sup> See footnote No. 2 under (c), p. 445.

(g) guruz kisher ko phai

dui janei rashaĩ lordi. tau unker guruz ajer tau kashin "raim raim sunleru, marlar pashileru." taun tair dihin maner "kartik me arwor tab raim raim sunleriz." unkai mehorauruz bhagetin bhai, ui tarrai dai dihinj, kashinj, "margi mahijai." tab bix me mehararuijar keir mardawar mari gez. phargun me unker guruz ajer tab keir guruz karai; guruz keshi kai corlar banarwai, ui rashibai nariz karai. tab ui waiseh rashi gez.

tau kudzin baidi unkai mehorauruz mariz tau sanguti pariz raim ghare. tab ui tau rajar khiiz beriz jalamp lishinj au ui tau harthiz bane. tau kudzin baidi jab saidiz karai ke bhaiĩ tau harthiz suninj tau khutokar karai laigeh. tab basut karjal. baid waid basut batorinj, narizi nizk hori. jab thoren din bijarĩ ke rashi gez tau harthiz basut duberijarn. tab purchinj ki "bair jarn harthiz tau marar jart hai." kashinj "hai beriz marar jart hai." tau kashinj "phirj koriz jatan nizk karau." tau harthiz tezner kashojariz ki "ham bijarĩ uwarĩ na karabai kuchq, na kashiz jarbai karab." tab kudzin baidi barbar ajer. bashbuxti ughari harthiz par bashizi dihinj tab uz phirj manar hoi gez.

## Translation

### (g) The fruit of accepting a preceptor.

There were two persons, Lodh (by caste). Their preceptor came and said: "Hear (the *mantra*) *Rām Rām*, put on the rosary." But (he) put it off, namely: "Come in (the month of) *Kātik*, then I shall hear *Rām Rām*." His wife became a devotee, he, however, put it off (and) said: "In (the month of) *Māgh*." Then in the meantime, the woman's husband died. In (the month of) *Phāgun*, his preceptor came, at that time who would accept the preceptor. Whom would the preceptor make the disciple, he no longer remained. So he remained (uninitiated) as he was.

Then after a few days, his wife died. Both of them came together in the *Heavens* (lit. *Ram's house*). She took birth at the king's as his daughter and he became an elephant. After a few days, when she was to marry, and the elephant heard (it), he began to worry (about it). (He was) very ill. Many physicians, etc., were brought together (but) he did not get better. When very few days for the marriage remained, the elephant became very much emaciated. Then (she) asked (her father): "Dear father, the elephant is dying." He (said): "Yes daughter, (he) is dying." Then (she) said: "Do cure him by any means." (She) went and told the elephant: "I shall not marry or do anything like it, nor shall I go anywhere." Then the saint came after some days (and) taking (sacred) ashes threw them on the elephant. At that he again became a human being.

## (b) bamñian au bokaraz keir kathaz

jarkai bamñianauz jark bokaraz kaiñijāz kāzññer pə dñarex bajazr maiñijāz bjāzcai ke liññer jartj raññāñ. ratraz māñ tizni badmaswaz milex. ui bokarwa ke derkhin ki sarj lalcazj uñhez. mudaz bamñianauz raññāñ bañez ðhiñazr taun un teñnez bokaraz chaññāzj ljañbu kuchu aisp wāisp kazmp nar raññai. taññūz un badmaswan māñ teñnez jarkp kaññai laiz ki “jas mai kafaññ taisai sab janex kiñññeo. ta bamñianauz tə bokarauz kaz hatijazj ljañb.”

etnax kaññatai khan bamñianauz ui kaññitiz teñ nikarex. tau waññai badmaswaz un teñnez bwaxlax ki “buññauz bañbañ jaññu kuikurp kapazre pə dharex kazññer caler jart hao.” suntai bamñianauz risazj uñhez au kaññai laiz “sarrez naññi kaññer, kaz twaxr dirdaz phurñi ger haññ? jaññu kuikur azj? as kuikur kabaññ deñkhez raññai? calu iz ðhāññ teñnez, naññiññ tau marññāñ swāññar taun kapazr phurñi jaxiz.” buññauz baññutai khaphax bhez au āññer caler. etnax heñ māñ duññarkau ariwax aur bwaxlax “kazkaz jaññu kuikurp kaññāñ teñnez lai azjeo?” etnax suntai bamñianauz keñ azgi laiz giññi au baññutai narazj bñez mudaz ab bamñianauz bñitarai bñistax swaxcai laiz giññi “jetanaññer sarj arwat haññ sabai jaññi kaz kukurai bataxwat haññ taunp jaññi kjaññ kuchu bñijaxdai naññiz samjññit.” etanaññer maiñijāññ tiññarkau ariwax au kaññai laiz “dadax jaññu kuikur kaññāñ teñnez lai azjeo?” jaññu suntai buññauññ khawkhjazj uñhez.

ui sarrez badmaswan kaiñijāññ buññauññ khordi bññalex diñññin mudaz man māñ sak pari gar ki

## Translation

### (A) The tale of the Brahmin and the Goat

A Brahmin, with a goat on his shoulders, was carrying it to the market to sell (it). On the way, (he) met three crooks. As soon as they saw the goat, they got covetous (of it). But the Brahmin was very steady and so it was no easy job to snatch the goat away from him. (Of the crooks one began to say : " Do as I do. Then we shall lay hands upon the goat."

While they were talking so, the Brahmin came that way. At that, that crook spoke to him : " Grandpa! why are you taking this dog over your head?" The Brahmin, on hearing (this), got angry and said : " Rascal thou ! are you blind<sup>1</sup> ? Is this a dog ? Did you ever see a dog like this ? Get thee away from this place. Or else I shall so strike (you with) the staff, that your head will break." The old man became very angry and proceeded further. In the meantime the second (crook) came and said : " Uncle! where did you bring this dog from?" Hearing this much, the Brahmin was (as if) seized with fire and he became very wrathful. But the Brahmin began to ponder to himself : " Whosoever, rascals are they, come, they tell this (goat) to be a dog : I do not understand the mystery of this." At this very time the third one came and said : " Brother ! where did you bring this dog from?" On hearing this the old Brahmin foamed with rage.

Although the Brahmin put those rascals, the crooks, off, but he came to entertain (some) doubt in mind :

<sup>1</sup> lit. are your eye-balls broken.



"jaunai djaikhat hai efi kai kukurai kañat hai. taunu jaini parat hai ki mwar burñarper kor dixer masi kai dñwaribax jarur dixerin hai. jafu jarurai sar kukurai arj." etnar soctai burñandux ui bokarar kaiñjā: balax has jñitiki dixerin au tharñi hwai kai laxgi garijarwai. jabai lager iz tharñi hwai kai laxgi garijarwai, tabai lager ui badmaswar bokarwar kaiñjā: uñhax kq laiker bhaxgi gez.

"Whosoever sees this calls it a dog. So it appears that my eyes of old age are surely deceiving me. Surely this wicked (goat) is a dog."

While the Brahmin thought so, he threw the goat away with a jerk like a small stick and, standing there, began to shower abuses. While standing he was showering abuses, the crooks lifted the goat and ran away with it.

### (i) sijazr au sijazrin

erk janiz rafiŭz sijazrin. tab un kai mardu mari gai. tab wai kaŭin "ham okarez upiar sagaziz baiŭhab jekarez sau akzili boziz." tau erkp mafiŭz bŭadargaŭsijaz sijazr azwai. uz kaŭisij kj "hamarez erk sai erk akzili hai." tab okarez upiar sagaziz baiŭhŭz.

tab wai garbŭin bŭaŭz. jab bijazi ko bŭaz tau sijazr sŭ kaŭin "calaŭ batároz jaŭŭz taŭŭz bijaziz." tab uz jazi ko batazisij jaŭŭz erk ŭhaŭz bargŭi raŭbat raŭaz. taŭŭz batazisij kj "jaŭiz ŭhiŭz bijazu." kuch deir bardi bagŭowaz azwai laiz jaŭŭz raŭbat raŭaz. tab sijazriniauz derkhin au sijazr sŭ kaŭin "kaunaŭ akzil lagároz jeŭi mŭz bagŭowaz calaz jazi." tab uz kaŭisij "ham kaun akil lagaziz. hamarez akil naizŭz hai." tab sijazriniauz kaŭin: "tuz tau kaŭat raŭŭu 'hamarez erk sai erk akili hai'." tau sijazr kaŭisij kj "jab ser ham toho kaz sagaziz baiŭhazren tab ser sab akil toŭarez gŭusari gai."

## Translation

### (i) The Jackal and his wife.

There lived a she-jackal. Her husband died. Then she said : " I shall enter into matrimonial alliance with one who has one hundred wisdoms." At that, there came a very wicked jackal. He said : " I possess one hundred and one wisdoms." She entered into matrimonial alliance with him.

Then she became pregnant. When it was time to be delivered she said to the jackal : " Come and tell me the place where I should be delivered." Then he went and indicated a place where a tiger used to reside. There he said : " Be delivered over here." After some time the tiger began to come to his place of residence. Then the she-jackal saw it and said to the jackal : " Do practise some wisdom, so that the tiger may go away." He said : " What wisdom shall I use ; I have no wisdom." Then the she-jackal said : " You had said that you had one hundred and one wisdoms." The jackal replied : " Since I entered into matrimony with you, all my wisdom has entered you."

## (j) barbar ki karizmat

erk burñijar rafñiz wafñi ker pars erk lañikar rafñaz. berkul garizb rafñaz, baññut garizb, khaze begir moññotaz. uz ghaze khordi khordi aponez lañika ko jizazwat rafñiz. tau kuch din ker barði lañikar sañaznar bñaz. aponez barp ki kãñtijar (bansiz) lagazwai lañg. phirj kãñtijar lai kai calaz tau kãñuaz (cañraz) khordaj lañg. au dui rozñiz beññara kaj powazisj au laññosun au mircañ au loññ. tau erk talazu mãñ kãñtijar lagazwai lañg hai. girañ machoriz erk miliz dupañar ko. tau machori ko bññizji ko bhartaz banazwar tau bññizji ko khazi lañg tau kaññisj dui admiz horiti tau batolazi batolazi khaziti. etaremo erk barbar azi gajez.

barbar kaññinj “erkã ñukoraz hamaññu ko deru bacñaz tau hamaññuz khazi leñit.” tau lañikar kaññisj ki “ham tau caññati rafñen ki dui admiz horiti tau batolazi batolazi khaziti.” tab barbar pataz ñhekaznar puññai lañgez. tau kaññisj “barbar hamareñ lañg rafñau.” tau barbar erkã bajazmat banwazinj au kaporaz paññinazinj tau wafñiz talazu po erk makazn badi gawaz aipai aip. tab phini waher duññau bññi rafñai lañgez.

tau barbar kaññai lañgez “bacñaz ham toññaz saññiz kai deñiz tau karññau?” tab kaññinj “hamareñ na maññotazñiz na barpp, ham tau baññut garizb han. hamazñ bijazññu keru na kariz.” tau wafñiz talazu po erkã ghoraz aipñ ruñpai bani gaz. tau wafñiz gñoraz po wafñiz lañika ko baññhazñi ko au dui khuroñiz banazi ko duññau khuroñiz bhari kai paññaz baññut laññi diññinj. tau barazazñi kã erk

## Translation

### (j) The Fakir's miracle.

There was an old woman. She had a son. He was very poor, very very poor, wanting in eatables. She used to nourish her son by digging up grass. After some time the boy grew up. He began to use his father's hook (to catch fish). When he started with the hook he would dig up the earthworms (to offer bait to the fish). He got two loaves of millet prepared and (took) garlic, chillies and salt. He just put the hook in a pool. He got one red fish at noon. He fried the fish and mashed it. Having so fried when he began to eat he said (to himself): "If we were two persons, I would eat and talk." At this very time a Fakir arrived.

The Fakir said: "(my) child, if you give a slice to me, I would also have a meal." Then the boy said: "I myself was saying 'if we were two, we would eat and talk at the same time'." At that, the Fakir asked the whereabouts and other details of the boy. He said: "O saint! reside with me." The Fakir got the boy shaved and clothed him. At that very pool a house appeared by itself. The two began to reside there.

The Fakir said: "(my) child, if I marry you, will you marry?" He said: "I have neither father nor mother, I am very poor. Nobody will consent to marry (his daughter with) me." At that a horse showed itself (by some miraculous power) at that pool. The Fakir seated the boy on it and loaded the horse with two bags stuffed fully with pice. (They) went to the city of a king. The king had

nagar me ger tau baxsaxfi ko erk laçikiz rafiz. tau jai jab gfiarox pafiucez tau unkiç kacefiçori ke saxmner paisax luçaub surux kaj diçiniç. tab gofiçeraziniç ki "baxsaxfi saxfiçeb apenix laçiki ki saxdiç hamerex sang karbau." tau baxsaxfi saxfiçeb bozlez "naxiz." tau laçikaz apenex makain ko çalex ger.

a daughter. When these people reached the residence (of the king), they began to shower away the pice. And shouted out: "Sire! king! Will you marry your daughter with us?" The king said: "No." The boy returned to his residence.

*Note.*—The story further tells that ultimately when rupees and *mohurs* were showered, the king, considering these people to be very rich, married his daughter to the boy. Immediately after the marriage, the boy somehow incurred the displeasure of the Fakir and everything vanished as it had come about. The boy again took to his profession of a fisherman. When the husband of the princess did not return, she started with a retinue on a search and to while away her time she used to hear stories from people of the places she went to. At last she arrives at the village of this boy, hears the life-story of her husband and recognises him and joyfully returns to the capital.



### (k) kaceñleriz maz bajazn

gñar maz hamazr sasur añai, biñijaz añai man-  
seiruz añai.

sarñeb teñraz roñz ki bart hai, hamareñ parozseñ  
erñ buññija ke gñar añai. u buññija ke lareñ kabau  
kabau baiñhi jariti hai, biñijaz hamazri roñtiz babaz-  
isñ tau kaññisñ “calau maxiz khazi lñaz.” tau ham  
kaññaz “toññaz dazdaz kaññiñ?” kaññisñ “ññiññer ger.”  
ham kaññaz “arwai dñaz tau caliz.” tau biñijau  
hamazr moññazra ke ññcañ ññcañ nagaraz hai tau  
baiñhi gaj. phirñ ññiññer oñer se azñer tau goññaz  
lagariniñ tau ham au biñijaz ciciñzi ke dauren tau  
maññazbiñz teñliu pahñci gaz. tau ham na cizññiz na  
jainiz. tau hamazr azñmiñ au teñliz erñ azñmi ke  
pakareñ raññen. ham nañiz cizññi sakiti. rait raññiz  
adññijazr. baññut adññiz chñerkeñ raññez. darwaññez par  
raññaziz miliz raññiz.

## Translation

### (k) A Statement in the Court.

In my family, there is my father-in-law, (my) daughter and (my) husband.

Sir, the thing relates to the day, thirteen days off. In my neighbourhood, there is the residence of an old woman. Often I sit by that old woman. My daughter prepared food (lit bread) and said: "mother come and eat." At that I said: "Where is thy daddy?" (She) said: "(He) has gone out to ease himself." I said: "Let him come and then I shall come." My daughter also sat down on the high platform on my threshold. When (he) returned after easing himself he gave out a shout (of danger) and at that my daughter and I cried and ran (towards the house). Mahabir, a Têl<sup>1</sup>, also came round. I neither recognise nor know (the thief). My man and the Têl were holding a man. I cannot recognise (him). It was a dark night. Many men were obstructing (the view). The quilt was found at the door.

<sup>1</sup> Têl—caste of people who press out oil-seeds.

## (1) mukadimaz kai hazl

Achar tau sunaz erk mukadimaz kai hazl tofi kar bataziz. erk mefraxruz rafiz taniz derkhai maz nizki narfiz rafiz. orkar manseidruz orkar liaze tau gaz munaz duin tizn din maz basiazj difisiz. u becariz are nairarex mo rafai laizj. nairarwao ma ukorex keuz narfiz afai. ducar din tau orkar karkaz pitizkharo ore kar difin phin kafen ki "Ab hamarex main ko nafiiz no cafi ai aponez manseidruz kez hijaz jaz, cafi ai jafi az man hore tafi az antai caliz jaz. ham sab apenai efi karl maz bfiukhan maratafiz. tofi kar khiazwai kar kafi az dharaz barjai". iz suni kez uz mefraxruz uz gazu chozji kez ofi kez paroxsez dusarex gazu maz rafai laizj au in sez un sez udfiaz barfiz laikez azpan din karjai laizj. Aisen oz kar erk baris bixti gaz. jau derkhisj kiz ab udfiarau barfiz katafi u sez nafi iz milat tau aponez nairarex kez erk bazmian kez lagez gai. au kafisj ki "bfi ajaz ab tau kauniu tanaz nafi iz calat. kiz tau tuz sab kez kafaz au ham kar kuchq kharj pijaj kar hamarex manaiwar sez dijazj djar ki tau phiri calaz ham sez sarkaz maz erk darkhaze dewazj dejaz nafi iz tau ab hamaz bistab muskil baz". bazmian deotar kar erkai hazl derkhi kai barazaras azje au kafien kiz "Achar calaz jau tau hamarex kafaz maznez tau tau ham tofi kar oz sez khaze pijaj kar dijazj derbai au jo razkhai par tajaz hoi jaze tab tofi kar okarex hijaz rafai ko parex. au huz jau uz nar tajaz hoziz tau calaz ham tor sez erk thi darkhaze diptiz sazheb kez hijaz diazj derb wai As As mazmiler maz basut khiazl karathiz".

## Translation

### (1) The Account of a Case

All right, listen, I shall tell you the account of a case. There was a woman, but she was not good to look at. Her husband took her (with himself) (after marriage) but turned her out after two or three days. She, poor woman, came back to her father's and resided there. There is no one at her father's place either. Her uncles gave her food for a few days (lit. two or four days) and later said: "It is no longer within our means. Either go to your husband's or go elsewhere wherever you like. Nowadays, we ourselves are suffering from hunger, where have we got to feed thee?" Hearing this that woman quitted that village and took up her residence in a village near by. And (she) began to spend her days by borrowing from this or that person. When she found that she could no longer get anything by borrowing, she went to a Brahmin of her father's place and said: "Brother ! it is impossible to go on now. Either all of you should speak to my husband and make him give me something to eat and drink or come and help me to put in a petition to the Government. Otherwise, it is difficult for me to carry on." The Brahmin-god on seeing her condition had compassion for her and said: "All right come, if he accepts my words, I shall make him give you something for you to eat and drink and if he will be ready to keep you, you will have to live with him. And yes, if he is not ready to keep you, come, I shall help you to give a petition to the Deputy Sahab. He is very considerate in such cases."

### (m) bamñianñi kai bajain

aipus m̃az kajiaz bñaz. gñareñ ke manaiñ hamket ñisair diñin. ham aponeñ parainiñ ke saith bambae jare ke jãgñaiñ ke t̃isad kai caleñ. kuch durijaz ham paceñ gajoz to lambez se erk tazraz deikh paraz. ofi m̃az ham nañazneñ au kinareñ baiñh ke dainai bijaz karai laizeñ. itaneñ m̃az . . . aĩõñ aur hamareñ mansexdñu se pũichin ki “tuz kañijaz gñareñ señ caljaz?” phun da kai da kai kañi keñ un señ padoreñ karai laizen. on harken ki “kas bñaijaz kacñiñ pakñiñ boñlat añaz”. tab aur phuzhar pastar bakai laizen. ham muñijaz ke ugaraz dñarai ke kiñaz. on dawañ ke hamareñ manaiñ ke panadñiñ se mazai laizen hamaz goññaraz qñar-kauaz, nathijaz chin choñ liñen. ham paceñ pupuñ lagazwaz au gũw deñ kai doñazix deñ laizen tab on goñaiter bolazj ke hamareñ manaiñ kai dñarazj diñen.

## Translation

### (m) The Statement of the Brahmin Woman.

There was a quarrel amongst our people. The people of our family turned us out. I started with my man for Janghai Railway station in order to go to Bombay. When we had gone some distance, from far off a tank came to our sight. We bathed in it and started to eat food sitting at the bank. At this time (the aggressor) came and asked my husband : "When did you start from your home?" Later saying many things which I know not, he began to jest with him (my husband). He forbade : "Brother, why do you talk unbecomingly?" At that he began to speak further obscene words. We bent down and started to get off. He (the aggressor) came running and started beating my husband with shoes. And snatched away my anklets, bracelets and nose-ring. We shouted (for help) and sought protection of the village and the country. At that he (the aggressor) called the watchman and got my husband taken into custody.

. . . . .

## (n) bñikhariz barmian kaj kathar

erk the rafñer barmian, to din raxt mār gāī. Ais mār g jāic ke kuch dinax khāren pñen. to erk dinax aur mār gē gājēr to wāñi dinax kañi gājēr rafñer apāner meñrairux se ki “argir origir jiaxer rafñer to ārtax ortax mār gi ke liaxer rafñab”. to jab mār g ūig ke aijen to jaun kañer rafñen ki argir origir jiaxer rafñer taun argir origir jiaxer nañīr rafñīr, to argir ainer uñāi pañhai diñin. to āīr lai ke argir to or kañen ki “erk ardmir ke ham derkhay hai ki mailpuai mailpuay khayt bay”. to or kañen ki “tumñux banayox”. tab uz jab banarwai kañentopāic paseirirke mailpuay banaen painñhai. jab tajayr hoi gawar tab khayz kay bolayen. ta deññi mailpuay unkir thayir me rakh diñin au palñix tix coray liñen. to or kañen ki “kai rex pāic paseirir ki pāicai the banay etanay pisay liay rafñer”. durnox janox se jñagayay hoi gay. to kañin ki “Aisen nañīr, erk thes sutayr ke macaway bichaywax to durnox janox oññi: pe loññix. to jaun jaygai tawan khayr au jix sorī jayr tix nay khayr”.

## Translation

### (n) The Story of the beggar Brahmin.

There was a Brahmin. He used to beg day and night. Begging in this way he ate and drank for some time. Then again, one day he went a-begging. (Before he went) he had asked his wife to keep fire lighted (saying) "I shall bring flour etc. by begging." When he returned after begging, (he found that) she had not lighted the fire. He sent her to bring fire (from neighbourhood). When she came back with fire, she said : "I have seen a man, he eats only *mālpuā*<sup>1</sup> and nothing else." Then he said : "You may also make *mālpuā*<sup>1</sup>." When he asked her to make *mālpuā*, she made five out of five seers (of flour). When they became ready, she called (him) to eat and put one *mālpuā*<sup>1</sup> and a half in his vessel and stole away the rest by her side<sup>2</sup>. At that he said : "O ! did you make only five ; I had brought so much flour ?" (And) both of them quarrelled. Then they said : "Not in this way ; put a cot woven with cotton-threads<sup>3</sup> and let both of us lie on it. Whosoever keeps awake may eat (all the five *mālpuās*) and one who goes to sleep, should not eat."

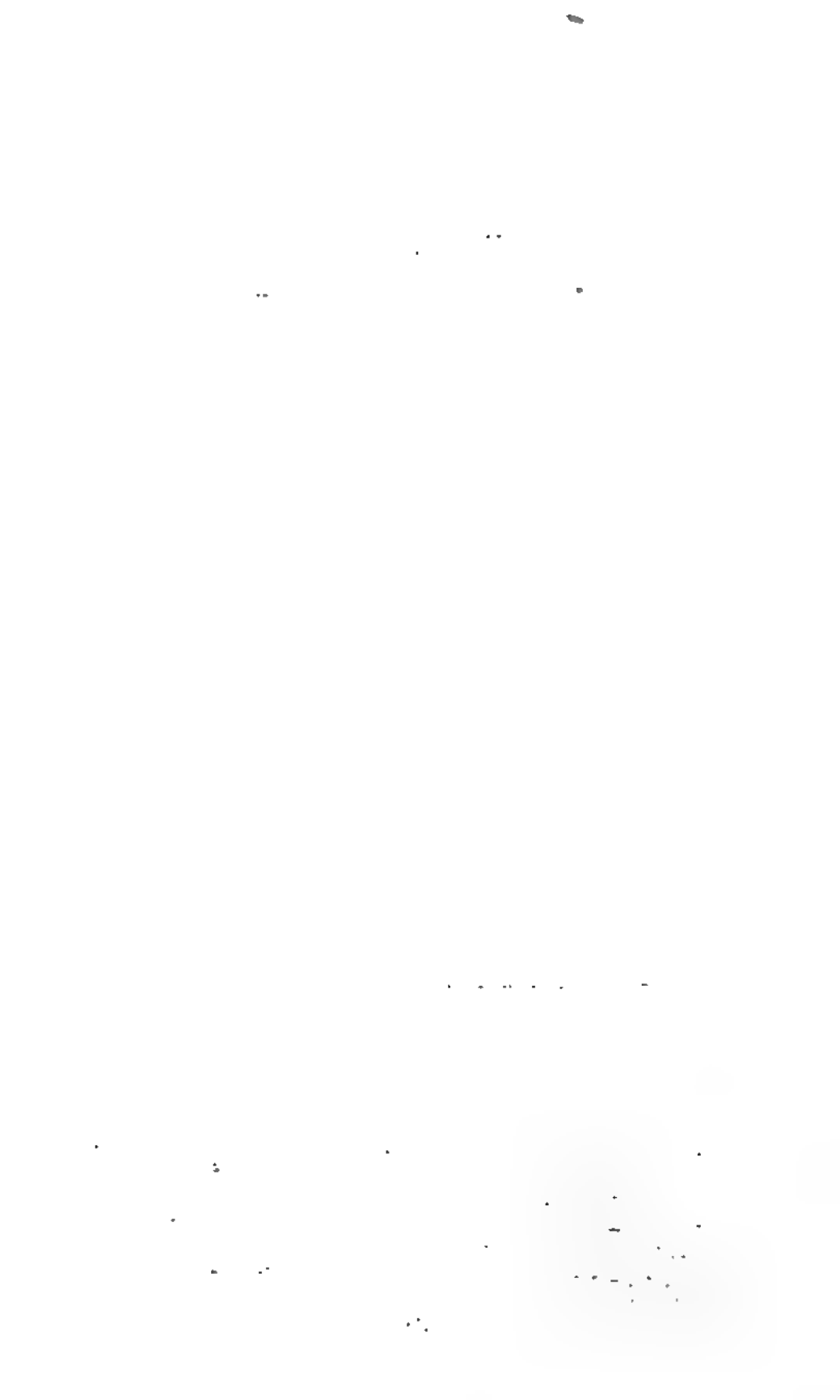
*Note.*—The story is half-told.

<sup>1</sup> *mālpuā*—a cake of flour leavened with yeast, mixed up with dried fruits and sugar and fried in butter—greater delicacy than *gulguā* [see note 1 under (a) ].

<sup>2</sup> *palāhi*—a position of sitting, one foot on one thigh and the other under the other thigh.

<sup>3</sup> *sutārā*—probably "of cotton-thread". This gives a very soft luxurious bed.





## INDEX

**PART 1.** Sanskrit, Prakrit, Early Awadhi words and loan-words from other Indian and from foreign languages.

**PART 2.** Modern Awadhi and Hindustānī words.

**NOTE.**—(a) Generally derivatives have been put under respective roots, e.g., *hōiki* under *hō*.

(b) *m* before mutes has been transcribed as the nasal of the class of the mute, e.g., *saṁga* as *saṅga*.

(c) the derivatives begin after the root (*ān* - , - *ahi* = *ānāhi*) or after the root less the final vowel of the root (*āju*, - *ū* = *ājū*).



## PART 1

### Early Awadhi, Sanskrit, Prakrit etc.

<i>ai</i> 164	<i>agumana</i> 801, 808
<i>aiguna</i> 326	<i>aggi</i> 84, 67, 116; - <i>g</i> 138
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Readers may kindly make the following corrections :

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6	jartar jartu	jartar jartu
12 (7th line)	Awadhī	Awadhī
19 (4th line from bottom)	here all specimens	here are all specimens
32	Jñālorar	jñālorar
35	nāṛghai gñ~tuar āncala	nāṛghai gñṣtuar āncala
42	chabbis garbhini bñabbñar	chabris garbhini bñabñar
43	sermi	sermir
46	samāher	samāher
49	Arñir	Arñir
51	dharam rh	dñaram ñ
52	bhalar	bñalar
58	palharwai	pālñarwai
55	srāvāṇa	brāvāṇa
56	loharr muh mahuar niharai	loñarr muñ mañuar niñarai
57	-ai	-ñi
60	sorohīr	sorohñr
64	Ahisarṇ	Añisarṇ
66	ghiu āhhira	gñiu ābhira
67	uddim	udñim



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68	bñaujuziz	bñaujaziz
69	stñoti	stñoti
	mañuaz	mañuaz
	tāxu	taxu
76	jārti	jartī
78	īṅgur	īṅgur
79	paseriz	paseriz
85	bar/chi	bar/chiz
90	bñinaññox	bñinaññox
96	babbuz	babruz
	kalluz	kalluz
	dadduz	dadduz
	kakkuz	kakkuz
	bappaz	bappaz
	kakkaz	kakkaz
99	dulñin	dulñin
109	ghui	ghui
113	bñargze	bñargze
119	laññijaz	laññijaz
126	qazrau	qazrau
127	meñaruz	meñaruz
	larikaz	larikaz
130	nārun	nārun
	kañarowai	kañarowai
	meñoraruai	meñoraruai
131	baith	baith
132	sarānjazm̐	sarānjazm̐
135	namani	nāmāni
139	riññi	riññi
140	kañjugaññiz	kañjugaññiz
141	sukhe	sukhez
146	yark	yark
148	ontarlis	ontarlis
	uncars, oncars	uncars, oncars

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152	paṛṇṭhaur	paṛṇṭhaur
154	sataṭī	sataṭī
155	guncarlız	guncarlız
159	driṣṭi	driṣṭi
163	§ 287	§ 286
184	yaz, yaḥ	jaz, jaḥ
	janḥ	janḥ
185	larikan	larikan
	yai	jai
191	jen	jena
210	laṭṭija	laṭṭijaz
222	satasaṭcarḥai	satasaṭcarḥai
237	tvaṭ	twaṭ
250	kaiser	kaiser
	dhariz	dhariz
260	derkheh	derkheḥ
	derkhih	derkhiḥ
	derkkeh	derkheḥ
262	paricārika	paricārikā
273	paṭṭuṇjartī	paṭṭuṇjartī
276	dekhotizhoiḥau	dekhotizhoi- ḥau
277	dekhotizhortī	dekhotizhortī
280	derkhez hoten	derkhezhorten
	derkhezhotiu	derkhezhortiu
281	nihazrkai	nihazrkai
287	sowatj	sowatj
288	buḡharb	buḡharb
289	atremo	etremo
304	kerkātī	kerkātī
305	naḡik	naḡik
	saḡha	saḡha

# ERRATA

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308	kāṣṭhako	kāṣṭhako
315	karijau	karijau
316	dekhab	derkhab
	dekhiu	derkhiu
	urdekhibau kariz	urdekhibau kariz
320	tuhiz	tufiz
	dekhei	derkhei
331	bhitār	bhitār

✓  
410 → 409

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